

URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN SEMI-COLONIAL CHINA:
GULANGYU INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT, 1903-1937

CHEN YU

(M. Eng. (Arch.), Tianjin University)

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To my parents and Uncle Eddie

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Summary

After the First Opium War, the urban transformation of Gulangyu, the roles of indigenous customs and western ideologies played in its development are the subjects of this dissertation. This research answers some fundamental questions in studying urban history of concessions and international settlements: what were they like before and after becoming quasi-independent settlements? How did they transform? What were the forces that drive the changes? What did these changes mean? Although modern cityscape of these areas boosted the common assumption of Western supremacy thereby concealed the inherence of Chinese traditions, this case study of Gulangyu highlights that Chinese social norms and indigenous customs to a certain extent affected their modern development according to diverse and complex local contexts.

Before being opened as one of the earliest five treaty ports, Xiamen (Amoy) had already taken the shape of a mature political, commercial and social network of its own. Despite its small population, a primary urban structure, accompanied by the Chinese neighborhoods, had already taken root on Gulangyu before the arrival of foreigners. Under the unequal treaties, foreigners could freely reside in Xiamen, instead of being confined within the British Concession initiated in 1852. Since 1860s, foreigners had resided on Gulangyu and had formed an international community without national boundaries before the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement in 1902.

After the founding of Gulangyu Municipal Council in 1903, an administration approach modeling after that for colony had put in operation. On the one hand, ideas of municipal governance were spread on Gulangyu, and a safe sanitary living

environment was created in this Settlement. On the other hand, traditional Chinese rules and indigenous customs continued to be carefully observed, such as the *baojia* 保甲 System, land exchange system, ancestral worship, the locals' reverence for rocks, hills and graves, etc. The original urban structure came into being before 1903 had been preserved and well utilized during the Municipal Period.

Relying heavily on archival sources and on-site investigation, this study narrates the conflicts, negotiations, and compromises of different groups in developing Gulangyu in the semi-colonial era. While colonial powers constrained each other in order to maximize their own interest, China did not completely lose her sovereignty. Local authorities tried to manage Sino-Foreign issues in tactful ways and traditional social norms penetrated through Chinese society. Because of the lack of sufficient commercial activities and the residential nature of the Settlement, the Council was not able to raise sufficient funds to conduct a thorough civil reformation. As a result, they utilized the original urban network and relied much on private efforts, especially those wealthy overseas Chinese. However, the Chinese were excluded from the municipal administration. With growing sense of Nationalism and increasing knowledge of municipal governance, the Chinese began to fight for equal political rights.

Gulangyu's urban experience in building, adjusting, governing, and inhabiting urban environment presents an urban model that was fostered by socio-political background of modern China and was imprinted with the characteristics of Xiamen. It brings forth a new conception of urban development in semi-colonial China and enriches urban history of modern Chinese cities.

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Abbreviations:

GLYWSZL *Gulangyu wenshi ziliao* 鼓浪屿文史资料

JDXMSWDASL *Jindai Xiamen Shewai Dangan Shiliao* 近代厦门涉外档案史料

JDZGSLCK *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中国史料丛刊

LJZ *Lujiangzhi* 鹭江志

MGCS *Minguo congshu* 民国丛书

XMWSZL *Xiamen wenshi ziliao* 厦门文史资料

XMZ *Xiamenzhi* 厦门志

Introduction:

In 1991, the Chinese historian Fei Chengkang 费成康 published a milestone works on the history of concession in China from 1843 to 1945. He presented a brief picture of all the concessions in China, and clarified some fundamental questions in the studies of concessions, such as definition and category of concession, as well as the number of concessions in modern China, etc. According to him, nine foreign countries set up twenty-five concessions and two international settlements in ten treaty ports of China since the First Opium War of 1841. However, only concessions in Shanghai 上海, Tianjin 天津, Hankou 汉口, and Xiamen (Amoy 厦门) had been well developed and had great influence on politics, economy and culture of their surrounding areas.¹

Despite her small urban scale, Xiamen² distinguished herself in the course of China's concession history. Her significance was the founding of Gulangyu International Settlement 鼓浪屿公共租界 in 1902,³ instead of a British Concession

¹ Fei Chengkang 费成康, *Zhongguo zujieshi* 中国租界史 [Concession history in China] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe 上海社会科学院出版社, 1991), 53-4, 267, 391.

² Xiamen had been called Jiaheyu 嘉禾屿 [Island of Auspicious Grain], Zhongzuosuo 中左所 [Middle Left Station], Simingzhou 思明洲 [Island of Mindful of the Ming], Ludao 鹭岛 [Egret Island], and Yincheng 银城 [Silver City], etc. Chen Jiaping 陈嘉平, Zhang Conghui 张聪慧, and Fang Wentu 方文图, eds., *Xiamen dizhi* 厦门地志 [Geographical record of Xiamen], 2nd ed., Xiamen Wenhua Congshu 厦门文化丛书 [A compilation of Xiamen culture], vol. 1 (Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe 鹭江出版社, 1999), 1-3; Fang Wentu 方文图, *Xiamen diming congtao* 厦门地名丛谭 [Discussion on place names of Xiamen] (Fujiansheng xiamenshi dimingxue yanjiuhui 福建省厦门市地名学研究会 [Xiamen: Toponymy Institute of Xiamen, Fujian] / Xiamen caifeng bianjibu 《厦门采风》编辑部 [Editorial Department of Xiamen Caifeng], 1985), 66; Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983), 61; Fei, *Zhongguo zujieshi*, 292.

³ Gulangyu in Chinese means Drum-Wave-Island, because of "the drum-like sound of the surf on its western shore." It was called by local people Yuanshazhou 圆沙洲 [Round Sand Island] and Wulongyu 五龙屿 [Island of Five Dragons]. In Western languages, it was also named as Kulungsu, or Kulangsu, or Koolangsu, etc. George Uvedale Price, *Ku-lang-su; or the Drum Wave Island* (Yokohama,

that was mooted in 1852, and an aborted Japanese Concession agreement of 1899. Fei Chengkang divided the development of concessions into four periods corresponding to historic events – the First Opium War of 1841, the Second Opium War of 1858, the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895, and the Boxer Movement of 1900. According to him, the Qing Court had understood the serious consequences of the establishment of concessions and was unwilling to open settlements to foreigners during the last period. Established in 1902, the Gulangyu International Settlement and the Austrian Concession in Tianjin were the last two settlements opened to foreigners in China. In fact, Gulangyu International Settlement was the only settlement ceded by the Qing Government to colonial powers voluntarily due to impending Japanese threat. Modeled after the Shanghai International Settlement (founded in 1863), the Gulangyu International Settlement was one of the only two international settlements in China.⁴

Gulangyu's 鼓浪屿 fate is closely interwoven with that of her mother city – Xiamen. As one of numerous islands along the southeast coast of China, the Island of Xiamen did not attract the attention of the central government until the ravages of pirates threatened the safety of the hinterland. In 1387, Zhou Dexing 周德兴 was dispatched by the Ming Court to reorganize the military force in Fujian 福建. He selected Xiamen to be a part of coastal defense and set up a garrison on the southwest of Xiamen Island in 1394. It was regarded as the rudimental origin of the City of Xiamen. Located at the estuary of Jiulong River 九龙江 [River of Nine Dragons] that

Hongkong, Shanghai, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, Limited, n.d.), introduction; J. Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1897), 147; Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: Gulangyu Committee (CPPCC: Gulangyu) 政协鼓浪屿区委员会, comp. *Haishang huayuan gulangyu* 海上花园鼓浪屿 [Marine Garden: Gulangyu] (Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe, 2001), 1.

⁴ Fei, *Zhongguo zujieshi*, 51, 53.

flows into the Taiwan Strait, Xiamen has an excellent deep-water harbour sheltered by surrounding isles. The natural advantages of this remote island were gradually realized by Chinese and foreign smugglers as early as the sixteenth century.

The fate of Xiamen was fundamentally changed in the hands of Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 (also known as Koxinga 国姓爷) after he set up an anti-Qing citadel in 1646. He developed a commercial maritime network connecting Xiamen with Taiwan, Japan, the Philippine Islands and the Malay Archipelago, etc. Zheng's resistance to the imperial Qing authority highlighted the strategic position of Xiamen with regard to military and economic sustainability of the region. After defeating Zheng and reoccupying Taiwan in 1683, Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (1662~1722) initiated a multi-centered military and civil system in Xiamen to prevent any potential growth of individual force that would threaten the Manchus rule. A year later, he rescinded maritime prohibitions and decreed Xiamen as the only designated port in Fujian to trade with Nanyang 南洋 [Southeast Asia].⁵ Since then, Xiamen became a well-known maritime center in China. Its developed commercial network and geographical advantages could possibly have led to the British assault on Xiamen in 1841. Consequently, it was opened up as one of the earliest five treaty ports in China.⁶

⁵ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 55-6, 61~79.

⁶ The official dates of opening the earliest five treaty ports were: for Guangzhou (Canton), July 27, 1843, for Xiamen, November 2, and Shanghai, November 17, 1843; for Ningbo (Ningpo), January 1, and Fuzhou (Foochow) in June, 1844. John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: the Opening of the Treaty Ports 1842-1854*, two volumes in one (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 155.

Southwest off Xiamen, separated by a seven-hundred-meter-wide strait, Gulangyu was a tiny islet with an area of 1.78 square kilometers.⁷ The battle of 1841 revealed its importance in defending Xiamen. The British acquired Gulangyu – “the key of Amoy” – as one of their military bases in China, and occupied this island until 1845.⁸ Because the British Concession that was initiated on Xiamen in 1852, was a pure commercial bund, most foreigners resided on Gulangyu – “almost entirely a residential quarter” since 1860s.⁹ An international community without national boundaries was formed on the islet before it became an international settlement in 1902. Between the period from the establishment of Gulangyu Municipal Council in 1903 to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 (the Municipal Period defined in this dissertation), Gulangyu made many progress and experienced construction booms in 1920s and 30s. However, with the Japanese invasion in 1937, the growth of the Settlement came to a standstill.

Although the influence of the treaty ports on the modernization of China has been questioned by Rhoads Murphey,¹⁰ concessions and international settlements no doubt were ideal places where foreigners experimented with ideas of municipal governance. Urban progress made in these quasi-independent settlements stimulated urban reforms in the treaty ports.¹¹ Their transformation was a stable gradual process instead of

⁷ Lin Yinxin 林荫新 comp., *Xiamen guihua zongheng* 厦门规划纵横 [Urban planning of Xiamen], vol. 1 ([Xiamen]: Zhongguo hanlin chuban gongsi 中国翰林出版公司, 2001), 57.

⁸ W. Parker, Report to the Earl of Auckland, 31 August 1841, in *Chinese Repository* 11, no. 3 (March, 1842): 153.

⁹ Cecil Bowra was a former Commissioner of the Xiamen Customs. Cecil A. V. Bowra, “Amoy,” in *Twentieth-Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and other Treaty Ports of China*, eds., Arnold Wright, and H. A. Cartwright (London: Lloyd’s Greater Britain Publishing Co., 1908), 814.

¹⁰ For the discussion of treaty ports’ influence on development of modern China, see Rhoads Murphey, *The Outsiders: the Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977).

¹¹ The municipal facilities and management popular in the concessions were introduced to the Chinese Areas 华界 in Shanghai since the middle of 1870s. Wu Jiang 伍江, *Shanghai bainian jianzhushi*

synchronizing neatly with political events. Neither its opening as a treaty port nor the establishment of the British Concession made an immediate impact on urban situation of Xiamen. Its scenario at the turn of the twentieth century was not much different from that of 1840s.¹² The large-scale municipal reforms did not take place in Xiamen until the 1920s, when the success of Gulangyu furnished a model for local elites.¹³

The modern history of Xiamen was no doubt a part of its on-going historical process. The former treaty ports, especially the earliest five of them are highlighted in China's blueprint of economic reforms and open-door policies which were initiated by Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 in 1978. Since then, five Special Economic Zones (SEZ) were successively set up in Shenzhen 深圳 (1980), Zhuhai 珠海 (1980), Xiamen (1981), Shantou 汕头 (1982) and Hainan 海南 (1988). Xiamen, once again, attracted international attention due to its geographical advantages and historical milieu. In fact, not only did the municipal reforms in the first quarter of the twentieth century established the infrastructure for today's Xiamen, but also the urban transformation of Gulangyu in a semi-colonial era provided experiences and lessons for Xiamen people, to meet the challenges of modernization and globalization.

Because of its small population and the implementation of the ban of motor vehicle, Gulangyu largely preserves its urban landscape formed before 1949, although

(1840~1949) 上海百年建筑史 (1840~1949) [Shanghai centennial architectural history: 1840~1949] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe 同济大学出版社, 1997), 53; Zhang Zhongli 张仲礼, ed., *Dongnan yanhai chengshi yu zhongguo xiandaihua* 东南沿海城市与中国现代化 [Southeast coastal cities and China's modernization] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1996), 18 (hereafter cited as *Dongnan yanhai chengshi*).

¹² For details of the urban situation of Xiamen in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see the section of "Wharves, Streets and Commercial Bund" in Chapter 1.

¹³ Zhang, *Dongnan yanhai chengshi*, 221, 223.

most heritage buildings are in a dilapidated state.¹⁴ Rated as “National Scenery District” in 1988, it is also known as “Marine Garden,” “Music Island,” “Island of Pianos,” as well as “Living Museum of Western Architecture.”¹⁵ Rather than being thought as a physical setting inbuilt with past glory and nostalgia, Gulangyu is a rare record of the contest of political, economic and social forces in the semi-colonial era.

The urban formation and transformation of Gulangyu after the First Opium War, especially during the Municipal Period, is the main subject of this study. Rather than a simple account of formal evolution of Gulangyu, this research intends to investigate the reasons behind its transformation: how a piece of Chinese territory developed during the semi-colonial era and what implication did its growth mean to foreigners and Chinese.

This research builds upon earlier China studies by historians, sociologists, geographers, political scientists, etc. Since 1950s, scholars realized that Western impact was an important, but not the only factor, affecting modern China after the First Opium War.¹⁶ The establishment of treaty port system allowed foreigners to reside and trade in China. And the ideas of municipal governance were introduced and carried out in the concessions and international settlements. The improving urban state in these areas indicated the contributions of the colonial administration and

¹⁴ According to urban guidelines of Gulangyu, old buildings constructed before 1949 could be regarded as “heritage building.” Xiamen Urban Planning and Research Institute 厦门市城市规划设计研究院, *Xiamenshi Gulangyu lishi fengmao jianzhu baohu guihua* 厦门市鼓浪屿历史风貌建筑保护规划 [Conservation planning of heritage building on Gulangyu, Xiamen], vol. 1 (Xiamen Urban Planning and Research Institute, 2001), 3.

¹⁵ CPPCC: Gulangyu, comp., *Haishang huayuan*, 1-2, 9; Tess Johnston and Deke Erh, *The Last Colonies: Western Architecture in China's Southern Treaty Ports* (Hong Kong: Old China Hand Press, 1997), 63.

¹⁶ See Teng Ssu-yü, John K. Fairbank, E-tu Zen Sun, Chaoying Fang, and others, *China's Response to the West: a Documentary Survey 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 1, 5.

urban management. Nonetheless, foreigners never did succeed in creating a new system in modern China.¹⁷

The protracted argument of imperialism since the late 1960s exposed the limitation of foreign influence; meanwhile the preservation of Chinese political, economic, and social system in late Qing and Republican China proved to be something not to be ignored on the other hand.¹⁸ Paul Cohen presented his China-Centered theory in 1980s. He appealed for viewing history of any non-Western society “in its own terms and from its own point of view rather than as an extension – actual or conceptual – of Western history.”¹⁹

Studies on colonialism, semi-colonialism, as well as post-colonialism also exposed the knowledge gap caused by Eurocentric conceptions in investigating development of once colonized or semi-colonized countries. Historical events should be contextualized in their particularities, instead of being interpreted with Western supremacy. As Looma discussed on “postcoloniality,” if uprooted from specific

¹⁷ See Rhoads Murphy, “The Treaty Ports and China’s Modernization,” in *The Chinese City between Two Worlds*, eds. Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974), 50-1.

¹⁸ For the discussion of the imperialism and its influence on modern China, see Murphy, *The Outsiders*, 7-11; Cohen, *Discovering History in China*, 97-147. Hou said that the effect of foreign investment on China was relative small, comparing with that of the traditional sector of Chinese economy. Hou Chi-ming, *Foreign Investment and Economic Development in China, 1840-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965). Feuerwerker also demonstrated that the Chinese economy remained generally isolated from foreign economic forces. Albert Feuerwerker, “Economic Aspects of Reform,” in *Reform in Nineteenth-century China*, eds. Paul A. Cohen and John E. Schrecker, (Harvard University: East Asian Research Center, 1976), 35-40.

¹⁹ For details of the China-Centered theory and its influence, see Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 3-7; Leung Yuen Sang 梁元生, “Jinnian lai meiguo zhi zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu qushi 近年来美国之中国近代史研究趋势 [Trends in the recent studies of history of modern China in America],” in *Zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu xinqushi 中国近代史研究新趋势 [New Trends in the Studies of Modern History of China]*, ed. Modern Chinese History Society of Hong Kong 香港中国近代史学会编, ([Taipei]: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 台湾商务印书馆, 1995), 105-34.

location, nothing could be meaningfully investigated.²⁰ Hosagrahar expressed similar concept in her study of Dehli under the British rule. In her definition, “indigenous modernity” was located in particular context, more exactly, the place, time, history and society.²¹

The semi-colonial discourse has been argued since Lenin and Mao Zedong 毛泽东 classified the states, which were invaded by colonial forces but preserved their juridical independence, as “semi-colonial.” Although being penetrated by imperial capital and political influence, semi-colonial China had the retention of her sovereignty and jurisdiction. Moreover, imbalanced foreign powers also led to the impossibility of any foreign nation establishing full colonial authority in modern China.²² Local forces with indigenous customs consciously or unconsciously modified and adapted western ideas in their particular ways. This research examined Gulangyu’s development in a context of semi-colonial China and investigated how Western ideas and Chinese tradition interacted to affect its urban transformation.

Recent studies on modern China also highlighted continuity and stability of Chinese traditions and social structure, the diversity of indigenous tradition, as well as overarching local influence after the First Opium War. Inherent and socio-cultural factors are regarded as key variables in studying modern Chinese cities. Nevertheless, these methods have seldom been applied to the study of built urban built environment with regard to concessions and international settlements. In these areas, Western

²⁰ Ania Looma, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (2nd ed.) (London and New York: Routledge, 2005, c1998), 22.

²¹ Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

²² Cohen, *Discovering History in China*, 144.

impact is still regarded as the dominant force, and the Chinese tradition is discussed negatively as the Chinese struggle for “National style.”²³ The reason could be attributed to the impressive eclectic architecture and well-ordered urban layout in these areas. Physical manifestations were easily referred to as the Western urban experience and the engagement of colonial powers. This study intends to explore the roles of Chinese tradition and social structure played in urban development of Gulangyu. Much attention was paid to clanship, ancestral worship, *baojia* 保甲 System, and indigenous customs pertaining to local people’s development of the land.

Besides the ruling class such as the municipal council and local elites, common people also made an impact on urban development, due to their “consciousness, intentionality, everyday practices, and collective action.”²⁴ Scholars tried to explain the relationship between local culture, changing Chinese social structure and urban development of modern Chinese cities.²⁵ In the same vein as what Brenda Yeoh has discussed on the contesting space of colonial Singapore,²⁶ urban built environment of Gulangyu reflected not only the power and prestige of the colonial powers, but also the force and influence of the Chinese that made up the majority of its population and

²³ See, for instance, Su Gin-Djih, *Chinese Architecture: Past and Contemporary* (Hong Kong: The Sin Poh Amalgamated, 1964), 130; Peter G. Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: MIT Press, 2002), 30, 53; Yang Bingde 杨秉德, ed., *Zhongguo jindai chengshi yu jianzhu: 1840~1949* 中国近代城市与建筑: 1840~1949 [Modern Chinese Cities and Architecture: 1840~1949] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe 中国建筑工业出版社, 1993), 2-3; Wu, *Shanghai bainian jianzhushi*, 186-7.

²⁴ Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin, eds., *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics* (Oxford, UK; New York / NY, USA: B. Blackwell, 1987), 105.

²⁵ Wu Jiang mentioned that Shanghai culture enabled the Shanghainese to immediately respond to a new social system after the Opium Wars. Hence, Shanghai could be developed faster than other Chinese cities. Wu, *Shanghai bainian jianzhushi*, 9-12. Liu also discussed the relationship between the social structure and urban transformation of modern Tianjin. Liu Haiyan 刘海岩, *Kongjian yu shehui: jindai Tianjin chengshi de yanbian* 空间与社会: 近代天津城市的演变 [Space and society: transformation of modern Tianjin] (Tianjin shehui kexueyuan chubanshe 天津社会科学院出版社, 2003).

²⁶ Yeoh Brenda Saw Ai, *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1996), 9-10.

thus, contributed to the modification of its urban relationship in specific cultural and socio-economic contexts. I intend to highlight how the character of Xiamen people²⁷ and their customs affected urban transformation of Gulangyu. Moreover, care was taken to present foreigners' construction activities on Gulangyu and their relationship with local people, especially on how they rented land, constructed houses, and their involvement in the urban development of Gulangyu after the First Opium War.

The studies of concessions and international settlements in China started as early as the 1920s, when treaty ports were generally resented by the Chinese as “symbols of China’s humiliation and exploitation by foreigners.”²⁸ They were criticized as the sources of social problems in modern China.²⁹ At that time, foreign scholars were also keen in studying the application of colonial system to China. Consequently, the land, legislation and jurisdiction, as well as administration systems of concessions were extensively examined by scholars.³⁰ However, most of these studies focused on the concessions in Shanghai.³¹

²⁷ Xiamen People, translated from 厦门人, is a term used here to represent/describe the Chinese living in Xiamen for generations. Although Xiamen is a migrant city whose residents mostly came from the surrounding areas, they generated certain characteristics and indigenous customs in their development of this port. Some of these characteristics and customs are observed in this dissertation in terms of their influence on urban formation and transformation. This should not be misunderstood as forming components of regionalism or localism.

²⁸ Rhoads Murphey, “A History of the City in Monsoon Asia,” in *The Urban Transformation of the Developing World*, ed. Josef Gugler (Oxford University Press, 1996), 41.

²⁹ Gu Qizhong 顾器重, Introduction to *Zujie yu zhongguo 租界与中国* [Concession and China] (1927), in JDZGSLCK, vol. 74; Wang Zhenshan 王臻善, *Huzujie jingguo gaiyao 沪租界前后经过概要* [Brief history of the concessions in Shanghai] (1925), in JDZGSLCK, vol. 74; Xia Jinlin 夏晋麟, ed., *Shanghai zujie wenti 上海租界问题* [Problems of Shanghai concessions] (1932), in MGCS, 4:24; Xu Gongsu 徐公肃 and Qiu Jinzhang 邱瑾璋, *Shanghai gonggong zujie zhidu 上海公共租界制度* [System of Shanghai International Settlement] (1933), in MGCS, 4:24; Ruan Ducheng 阮笃成, ed., *Zujie zhidu yu shanghai gonggong zujie 租界制度与上海公共租界* [Concession system and Shanghai International Settlement] (1936), in MGCS, 4:24.

³⁰ See, for instance, *Shanghai: a Review, Giving the Gist of Mr. Justice Feetham's Report on the International Settlement* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd; rept. from The Round Table No. 84, September 1931); A. M. Kotenev, *Shanghai: its Mixed Court and Council; Material Relating to the History of the Shanghai Municipal Council and History, Practice and Statistics of the International*

Nevertheless, the Shanghai experience was not representative of other concessions.³² In his works of 1991, Fei Chengkang showed the similarities of the concession systems in different foreign settlements, and highlighted their diversities that were fostered by treaty countries and modified in local contexts. For example, a particular land system (rent-in-perpetuity system 永租制) was generated from the traditional Chinese land exchange scheme after the First Opium War. It bestowed foreigners with the right of owning real estates in China. According to the lease modes that were decided by agreements between the Chinese Government and treaty countries, foreigners could apply for title deed from local authorities or foreign deed from their consulates to guarantee their land transactions.³³

Generally speaking, the operations of concessions in China followed three basic acts – the first was agreements between the Chinese Government and treaty countries to initiate concessions; the second and the most important was the regulations for settlements; the third and most detailed was the bye-laws directing administration of municipal councils. Although the details of these acts and legislative rights of their

Mixed Court; Chinese Modern Law and Shanghai Municipal Land Regulations and Bye-laws Governing the Life in the Settlement (Shanghai: North-China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., 1925; rept. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1968).

³¹ See, for instance, Christian Henriot, *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, trans. Noël Castelino (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1991). A large number of studies have been done on Shanghai in last decades. Recent studies of modern Chinese cities tried to shift scholars' attention from Shanghai to other Chinese cities. Joseph W. Esherick, "Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City," in *Remaking The Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, ed. Joseph W. Esherick (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 12.

³² Fei, *Zhongguo zujieshi*, 2. In 1992, the Committees of Historical Materials in six cities and two provinces cooperated to publish a book to introduce the general situation of some concessions in China. Committees of Historical Materials under CPPC Conference in Guangzhou, Wuhan, Xiamen, Qingdao, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangdong Province, and Liaoning Province, comps., 广州市、武汉市、厦门市、青岛市、广东省、辽宁省、天津市、上海市政协文史资料委员会合编, *Lieqiang zai zhongguo de zujie* 列强在中国的租界 [Colonial powers' concessions in China] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe 中国文史出版社, 1992).

³³ Fei, *Zhongguo zujieshi*, 86-114.

residents varied in different concessions according to treaty countries, there was little difference between the jurisdiction system inside and outside the concessions, and defendants were judged by different courts with regard to their nationalities.³⁴

However, “the nationality of the administering power determined the nature of the municipal government.”³⁵ In other words, the administration system varied in different concessions due to political culture of treaty countries. Fei Chengkang categorized it into four groups, namely that of the international settlement, the British Concession, the French Concession and the Japanese Concession. Although the first and the second groups had certain similarities, the administration of the international settlements was supervised by a consular body instead of a consul as was the case of the British Concession. The British Concession was regarded as autonomous, because its administration was operated by the municipal council that was elected by ratepayers and was supervised by the British consul. On the contrary, the French concession was autocratically administered by the French Consul that controlled the municipal council. The Japanese concession had its particular rules mixing autonomy and autocracy. The Japanese Consul controlled police force and supervised the administration that was conducted by the settlement committee.³⁶

No matter how different the administration systems in foreign settlements, the municipal councils were concerned about similar issues in their daily operations, such as reclaiming land, opening roads and drains, setting up public utilities, and regulating

³⁴ Ibid., 115-59.

³⁵ Chris Elder, ed., *China's Treaty Ports: Half Love and Half Hate* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxiii.

³⁶ Fei, *Zhongguo zuijieshi*, 160-76.

building constructions, etc.³⁷ While Robert Home discussed town planning in British colonies, he pointed out that municipal management “derived from British practice” and targeted to provide “better ventilated houses, pure water and good drains, better waste and sewage disposal, open spaces, and the residential segregation of the races.”³⁸

However, even if the Shanghai International Settlement and Gulangyu International Settlement were directed by similar land regulations and bye-laws, their urban landscapes differed from one another. Hence, I make an attempt to re-address fundamental issues in studying the influence of municipal governance on urban development. For instance, how did it affect urban built environment? Whether it was adapted to different local contexts? Through investigating the operations of the Municipal Council and the implementation of the land exchange system on Gulangyu, I intend to interpret why different urban spaces could be formed in different districts under similar systems.

Several valuable studies have been done on the social history of Xiamen, such as Ng Chin Keong’s examination of Xiamen commercial network (1983), James Cook’s concern of Xiamen’s overseas Chinese and southeast coastal modernization (1999),³⁹ Chau Chi Fung’s work on the urban development of Xiamen from 1900 to 1937 (2003).⁴⁰ On the other hand, however, studies on Gulangyu have so far been

³⁷ Ibid., 176-90.

³⁸ Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: the Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997), 77.

³⁹ James A. Cook, “Bridges to Modernity: Xiamen, Overseas Chinese and Southeast Coastal Modernization, 1843-1939,” PhD diss. University of California: San Diego, 1998.

⁴⁰ Chau Chi Fung 周子峯, “Treaty Ports in Modern China: Xiamen’s Urban Development as a Case Study (1900-1937) 近代通商口岸研究: 以厦门城市发展为个案之考察 (1900-1937),” PhD. diss. Hong Kong Baptist University 香港浸会大学, 2003.

concentrated on its architecture. Since 1993, heritage buildings have been surveyed and many relevant books were presented to the public.⁴¹ Based on local data on Gulangyu, He Qiyang 何其颖 presented a general history of the Settlement in her thesis of 2003.⁴² The urban transformation of Gulangyu after the First Opium War remained neglected mainly due to the difficulty of obtaining necessary data.

Although the choice of subjects and the nature of my study were partially limited by the availability of sources, this dissertation is primarily based on archival research and fieldwork. Being the first full-length research on the urban development of Gulangyu, this study is sustained by a large number of first-hand historical data. The earliest Chinese sources are *Lujiang zhi* 鹭江志 [Gazetteer of Egret River] written by Xue Qifeng 薛起凤 (1776) and *Xiamen zhi* 厦门志 [Gazetteer of Xiamen] compiled by Zhou Kai 周凯 (1832). Other informative Chinese sources are a series of collections of historical materials compiled by local scholars, such as *Gulangyu wenshi ziliao* 鼓浪屿文史资料, *Xiamen wenshi ziliao* 厦门文史资料, etc. The Xiamen Archives also published selected historical documents pertaining to Sino-Foreign issues in modern Xiamen 近代厦门涉外档案史料. The Gazetteer of Xiamen Customs 厦门海关志 compiled and published by the Xiamen Customs also provides important information on foreigners' activities in Xiamen.

⁴¹ For the survey and information on heritage buildings on Gulangyu, see Guo Husheng 郭湖生, Zhang Fuhe 张复合, Shin Muramatsu 村松伸, and Satoshi Itoh 伊藤聪, eds., *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu zonglan: xiamen pian* 中国近代建筑总览: 厦门篇 [The architectural heritage of modern China: Xiamen] (Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe 中国建筑工业出版社, 1993); Wu Ruibing 吴瑞炳, Lin Yinxin 林荫新, and Zhong Zhecong 钟哲聪, eds., *Gulangyu jianzhu yishu* 鼓浪屿建筑艺术 [Art of Gulangyu architecture] (Tianjin daxue chubanshe 天津大学出版社, 1997); Cai Wanghuai 蔡望怀, Guo Hengming 郭恒明, and Guo Shuzhou 郭叔周, eds., *Gulangyu jianzhu gailan* 鼓浪屿建筑概览 [Brief introduction of Gulangyu architecture] (Lujiang chubanshe, 1995).

⁴² He Qiyang 何其颖, "The Study of Gulangyu on Lease 租界时期的鼓浪屿之研究," PhD. diss. Xiamen University 厦门大学, 2003.

Because the archives of Gulangyu Municipal Council have not been made public, studies on the operations of the Council and urban constructions in the Municipal Period (Chapter 5) are limited to existing Annual Reports of the Council, Minutes of Annual Meetings of Ratepayers, as well as Decennial Reports of the China Customs at Xiamen (1882~1931).⁴³ The municipal administration could also be investigated through the comparative study of the original (1902) and revised (1919) Land Regulations and Bye-laws for the Settlement.⁴⁴ At the same time, the absence of the municipal archives also circumstanced the discussion on conflicts and compromises of different groups in developing Gulangyu.

Because of the lack of existing studies on Gulangyu, the descriptions of early situation of this island have to be sieved from Westerners' travelogues, diaries, journals, reports, and memorials, such as those of P. Du Halde (1736), Charles Gutzlass (1834), Robert Fortune (1847), George Smith (1847), William Power (1853), George Hughes (1872), C. P. Simoes (1881), Gordeon Cumming (1886), Philip Pitcher (1893, 1912), John Macgowan (1897), John Thomson (1898), Alexander Michie (1900), Cecil Bowra (1908), Lerey Webber (1926), Meyrick Hewlett (1943), etc.⁴⁵ Most of these works are, for the first time, used in the study of Gulangyu and Xiamen. The biographies of foreign sojourners in Xiamen are also studied to show the early situation of this port, including those of Rev. Carstairs Douglas (1877), Rev.

⁴³ China: Inspectorate General of Customs, *Decennial Reports on the Trade, Navigation, Industries, etc., of the Ports Open to Foreign Commerce in China and Corea and on the Condition and Development of the Treaty Port Provinces*, microfilms, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1882-1891, 1892-1901, 1902-1911, 1912-1921, 1922-1931. (here after cited as Decennial Report.)

⁴⁴ The revised version had never been studied by scholars. It was found it in an attachment to a British correspondence during the course of my research.

⁴⁵ These authors were missionaries, British officers, consular officials, foreigners serving in the Xiamen Customs, or travelers who visited Xiamen. For the brief background of these authors, see the relevant notes.

John Van Nest Talmage (1894), Harry Parkes (1894), Rutherford Alcock (1900), Jessie Johnston (1907), John Macgowan (n. d.), Patrick Manson (1962), Cecil Bowra (1966), etc. In addition, this study collects articles relating to Xiamen in the *Chinese Repository*, a well-known journal published between 1832 and 1851. It provides valuable data on the social situation of Xiamen before and after the First Opium War. The examination of the chronicles and records of the East India Company offers a fresh perspective, presenting the early Sino-Foreign interaction in Xiamen as early as the seventeenth century.

Another important source, the archives of the British and American Consulates at Xiamen, also contain abundant official documents pertaining to different aspects of social life in the port. Title deeds registered with the British Consulate at Xiamen, offer empirical data on the land exchange system and land transfers on Gulangyu, are especially important. It is the first time that title deeds and annexed Chinese deeds are used to present urban transformation of concessions and international settlements in China.

Visual and graphic materials are equally important in a study of this nature. A bulk of records on heritage buildings has been made in my fieldworks on Gulangyu. A substantial amount of old maps and pictures are also collected during my research trips to London, Beijing, Shanghai, Xiamen, and Taipei. In this study, they were carefully analyzed in the presentation of the urban transformation of Gulangyu in different periods. Archaeological findings also contributed to our understanding of Gulangyu's early urban situation, such as the excavations of Huang Tianzai's tomb 黄天裁 in 1983 and Huang Zhenshan's 黄振山 in 1986.

This dissertation consists of six Chapters. Chapter 1 portrays the geographical and historical background (14th C. to 20th C.) of Xiamen and Gulangyu, highlighting the character of Xiamen people and their social norms as well as their indigenous customs. It also presents the process of building Xiamen city and its urban significance. Chapter 2 examines the roles that Gulangyu played in Sino-Foreign interaction in Xiamen. The ways local forces handled foreign issues are highlighted in the discussion on the establishment of the British Concession and the abandonment of the Japanese Concession as well as the genesis of Gulangyu International Settlement. Chapter 3 narrates the urban situation of Gulangyu before 1903. It demonstrates the existence of a basic urban structure formed by the Chinese and sustained by the Chinese social norms. It also demonstrates that most of the foreign constructions had been completed and an international community had been formed on Gulangyu before 1903. Chapter 4 presents the urban transformation of Gulangyu during the Municipal Period (1903~1937). Four districts and the eastern shore are analyzed, presenting the utilization and preservation of the original urban structure. It will also highlight that the Chinese and not the foreigners were the main body spearheading the urban transformation of Gulangyu. Chapter 5 describes the operations and contributions of the Municipal Council with regards to the Land Regulations and Bye-laws. It further highlights the forces beyond the urban development in a semi-colonial era. Chapter 6 focuses on the relationship between deed, land transfer, and urban transformation. It introduces the application of the rent-in-perpetuity system and title deed after the First Opium War. And it further explores how the land exchange system contributed to the preservation of the original urban structure on Gulangyu.

These six chapters attempt to answer four interrelated questions in the urban development of Gulangyu: 1) What was Gulangyu like before and after 1903? 2) How did it transform? 3) What were the forces that brought about the changes? 4) What do these changes mean? Through studying the urban transformation on Gulangyu after the Opium Wars, I have examined the following five issues in that particular context, providing an insight into urban transformation in semi-colonial China.

Firstly, my study of Gulangyu reveals that a basic urban structure had taken shape before 1903. It was utilized and maintained by people during the Municipal Period. Despite the changing usage of land, its boundary and spatial relationship with the surrounding were retained even today. Following the land exchange system, the foreigners could rent land in accordance with their personal performances and needs. Hence, their building activities were framed by the existing urban fabric. Meanwhile, because of the residential nature of Gulangyu, the Municipal Council could not raise sufficient funds to create a new urban environment. Hence, improvement to the original urban structure was the most feasible way to develop the Settlement. This finding shows the diversity of urban development in different concessions and international settlements.

Secondly, this study highlights the flexible nature of Chinese traditions and their intrinsic influence on modern Chinese cities. Despite its small area and population, Gulangyu had been developed in traditional Chinese ways. On the one hand, Xiamen people were open to foreigners and their culture. Their pragmatic spirit also made them receptive to foreigners' acquisition of real property. On the other hand, the natives were tied by the clanship and indigenous custom. The maintenance of the

Chinese cultural norms, to a great extent, led to the preservation of the original urban structure that was generated from the Chinese daily life.

Thirdly, although building activities were supervised by the Municipal Council, the urban construction was guided by the market need of real estate and was controlled by the land exchange system. This study also shows that Gulangyu had been cultivated by local people in early days and land ownership was recorded through deeds and land was inherited for generations due to stable family structure and developed land exchange system. The establishment of the rent-in-perpetuity system and the use of title deed enabled foreigners to participate in the urban development and also aligned their building activities with Chinese tradition and indigenous customs.

Fourthly, this research highlights the importance of the treaty port system that bestowed foreigners with the right of residence and the right to trade in treaty ports. Most foreigners had congregated on Gulangyu before 1903 and formed an international community that was guided by an autonomous committee. Foreigners' building activities were supervised by local authorities and were also protected by their consulates. Neither the existing social relationship nor the original urban structure was fundamentally changed with the establishment of the Settlement.

Fifthly, this study reveals that it was impossible to carry out Western ideas of municipal governance in its entirety in modern Chinese cities, even in an international settlement like Gulangyu, due to China's "retention of territorial sovereignty, the enormous strength of self-image, the strength and effectiveness of traditional

economy.”⁴⁶ In fact, imbalanced foreign forces also made the establishment of a full colonial authority impossible.⁴⁷ The neutral political status of the Settlement relied much on the delicate and fragile power relationship among colonial powers. Although the unstable social environment of modern China contributed to the concentration of capital and population in the concessions and international settlements at that time, it also impeded their healthy development.

As this study shows, the development of the concessions and international settlements were shaped by a complex web of political, economic, social and cultural forces. One should not be surprised to find that they were unavoidably imprinted with the Western ideas in a semi-colonial era and were presented with different manifestations from that of a traditional Chinese city. Nor should one be surprised to see that they also could not break away from the original urban structure that was deeply rooted in the Chinese social life. Only after the ground of the traditional Chinese social norms was loosened by the Western impact could fundamental urban reforms then take place on Chinese soil. Eventually, it was the Chinese, instead of foreigners, who challenged the Chinese tradition and undertook large-scale municipal reforms in modern Chinese cities – in 1926, the old city wall of Xiamen was pulled down by its Municipal Government.

⁴⁶ Cohen, *Discovering History in China*, 131-2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

Chapter 1

Historical and Cultural Background

1.1 Geographical Features

Xiamen, N. Lat. 24° 26' 46' and E. Long. 118° 04' 04', at the estuary of Jiulong River leads westward to one of the most productive plains of Fujian Province.¹

Xiamen was located strategically along the west coast of the Taiwan Strait, was an ideal terminal connecting Taiwan and the Mainland.² Being one of the main international sea-routes in Asia and the Pacific, the port of Xiamen had been regarded as “the most accessible of all the consular ports in China” in mid-nineteenth century.³

Xiamen with its excellent harbour, was no doubt a gateway to Zhangquan 漳泉 District, to Fujian, and to China.

This geographical advantage did not escape the attention of pirates wandering along the coast. However, strategic importance eluded the courts for a long time. It was to become a notorious haven for smugglers in the sixteenth century, as a result of its “remoteness” from the administration.⁴ As Pitcher noted, local people had suffered violent aggressions of “bold buccaneers and Japanese marauders.” Consequently, it

¹ Wu Shichi 吴诗池, Preface to *Xiamen kaogu yu wenwu* 厦门考古与文物 [Archeology and cultural relic in Xiamen], in *Xiamen Wenhua Congshu* 厦门文化丛书 [A compilation of Xiamen culture], vol. 2 (Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe, 1996).

² Chen, Zhang and Fang, eds., *Xiamen dizhi*, 5.

³ S. Wells Williams, *The Chinese Commercial Guide: Containing Treaties, Tariffs, Regulations, Tables, Etc., Useful in the Trade to China & Eastern Asia, with an Appendix of Sailing Directions for those Seas and Coasts*, 5th ed. (Hongkong: A. Shortrede & Co., 1863; repr., Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966), 182.

⁴ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 48.

became “a most notorious rendezvous for buccaneers and pirates from along the entire coast.”⁵

Once the Ming court realized Xiamen’s vulnerability that would endanger the hinterland, they began to tighten their control of this area. Emperor Ming Taizu 明太祖 (1368~1398) decided to set up the Marine Great Wall (*haishang changcheng* 海上长城) along the southeast coast to guard against pirates, especially the *wokou* 倭寇 [Japanese pirates]. This fundamentally changed the fate of littoral frontiers. The influence of this policy was far-reaching. One of these garrisons was later developed into a town - the predecessor of Xiamen.

Directed by this policy, Marquis of Jiangxia 江夏侯 Zhou Dexing 周德兴 was dispatched to Fujian in 1387 to set up Guard of Yongning 永宁卫 with five basic military units, i.e. Left, Right, Middle, Front, and Back Battalion (*zuo, you, zhong, qian, hou qianhusuo* 左、右、中、前、后千户所).⁶ He also posted Independent Battalions (*shouyu qianhusuo* 守御千户所) at some strategic locations, such as Xiamen. Subsequently, the Middle and Left Battalions under the Guard of Yongning were moved to Xiamen in 1394, and a walled garrison was constructed southwest of the Island of Xiamen. It was known as Zhongzuosuo 中左所 and became the

⁵ Philip Wilson Pitcher, *In and About Amoy: Some Historical and other Facts Connected with One of the First Open Ports in China*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Methodist Pub. House in China, 1912; repr. Taipei: Ch’eng Wen Pub., 1972), 22-3.

⁶ Except those quoted in other works, the translations of official titles in this dissertation are referred to Charles O. Hucker’s works. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (The Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University, 1985; repr. Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1995)

rudimental origin of the City of Xiamen.⁷ A Spanish explorer described the military town in the seventeenth century in the following manner:

This Tan-su-so [Zhongzuosuo] is a gallant and freshe [fresh] towne [town], of forre [four] thousand householders, and hath continually a thousand souldiers [soldiers] in garrison and compassed about with a great and strong wall; and the gates fortified with plates of yron [iron]; the foundations of all the houses are of lime and stone, and the walls of lime and yearth [earth] and some of brick; their houses within very fairely [fairly] wrought, with great courts, their streetes [streets] faire and brode [broad] all paved.⁸

Unlike other garrisons that were abandoned over time, Zhongzuosuo became a treaty port, partly due to its excellent geographical location, topography and harbour. Being “the natural mainland port for the trade with Formosa and the Philippines,” Xiamen was conveniently situated “between the great ports of Hongkong and Shanghai.”⁹ Moreover, the port was sheltered by surrounding isles from natural and man-made calamities.¹⁰ Its deep-water harbour provided “easy [of] access at all states of the tide,” having “well-lighted approaches, and fair docking facilities.”¹¹ As early as 1736, it had been eulogized by the French Du Halde as “one of the best harbours in the World.”¹² While visiting Xiamen in 1832, Charles Gutzlaff then ranked it as “one

⁷ XMZ, 35.

⁸ *Mendoza*, vol. 2, 44, quoted in Bowra, “Amoy,” 816.

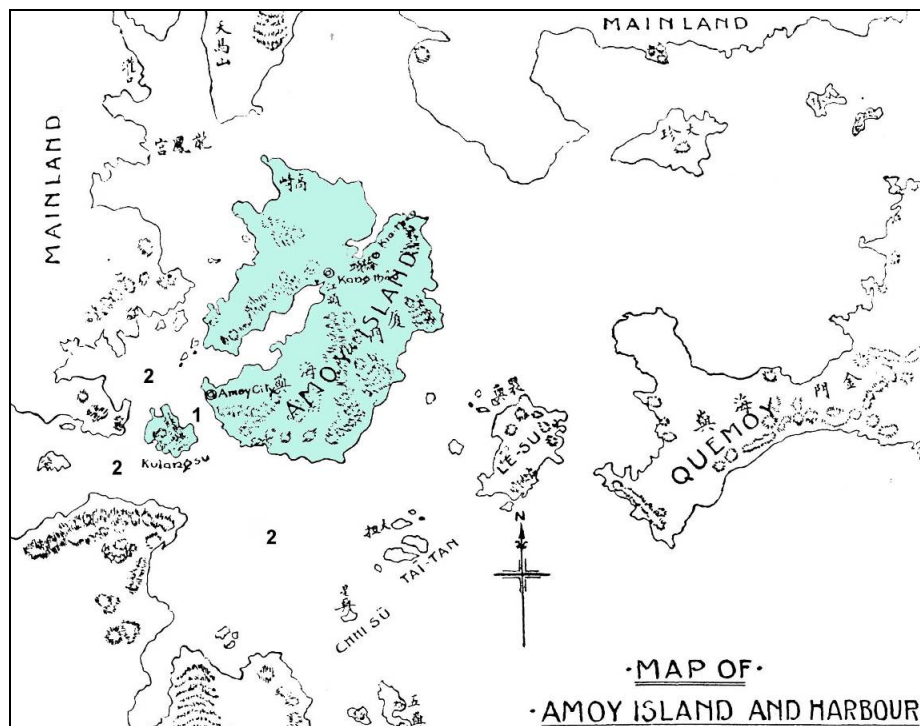
⁹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 813. According to a report on the Harbor of Xiamen, it was “the only deep water port in the area and the nearest mainland port to the island of Formosa.” in W. A. Dexheimer, “Report on Amoy Harbor,” (working paper for the Minister of Communications Republic of China, Shanghai: Morrison-Knudsen Consulting Group in China, 1946).

¹⁰ Pitcher once described that the Island of Xiamen was “hidden behind the still further outlying ones that protect it from the sea, such as *Quemoy* (金門), *Le-su* (烈嶼), *Tai-tan* (大担), and *Chhi-su* (星嶼).” in Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 5; Bowra also said that “a chain of islets” protect the island of Xiamen from “the heavy seas of the Formosa Channel.” in Bowra, “Amoy,” 813. For more details of the geography of Xiamen, see XMZ, 36.

¹¹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 813.

¹² P. Du Halde (1674-1743) was a French Father, who had resided in Beijing for ten years and was the Supervisor of the Jesuits House at that time. P. Du Halde, *The General History of China: Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet, Including an Exact and Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, Ceremonies, Religion, Arts and Sciences*, trans. R. Brookes, 1st ed., vol. 1 (London: J. Watts, 1736), 169.

of the best harbors for European mercantile enterprise, both for its situation, its wealth, and the stores of Chinese exports.”¹³ And the British officer also regarded it “to be much superior to that of Hongkong.”¹⁴ Even in 1935, it was still considered as “one of the finesse on the China coast.”¹⁵ The Inner Harbour and the Outer Harbour constituted the port of Xiamen. The former, located between the Island of Xiamen and Gulangyu, was an ideal anchorage for vessels less than 500 feet in length. And the latter was situated around Gulangyu. “Protected by island and shoals,” it could anchor “approximately 75 vessels of various sizes.”¹⁶ (Map 1.1)



Map 1.1 Map of Amoy Island and Harbour. (Source: Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, facing p. 5)

1. The Inner Harbor; 2. The Outer Harbor.

¹³ Charles Gutzlaff, “Journal of Two Voyages along the Coast of China, in 1831 and 1832,” quoted in *Chinese Repository* 2, no. 12 (April, 1834): 534.

¹⁴ Cal. Cour was an officer in the British regiments attacking Xiamen. He briefly described the Island of Gulangyu in his letter to the editor of the *Calcutta Courier*. Cal. Cour, Letter to the editor of the *Calcutta Courier*, 24 November 1841, in *Chinese Repository* 11, no. 3 (March, 1842): 156.

¹⁵ North-China Daily News and Herald, *China Provincial Atlas and Geography* (Shanghai: The North-China Daily News and Herald Ltd., 1935), 33.

¹⁶ Dexheimer, *Report on Amoy Harbor*.

As the southwestern boundary of the Inner Harbour, Gulangyu is a small island with 1800 meters length and 1000 meters width. A British officer reported in 1841 that “it was of an irregular oval form, stretching east and west, or nearly in such direction; it was about 2 miles long and twice that distance in circumference.”¹⁷ Gulangyu “combines within itself the varied features of an extensive landscape, though of course in a miniature form.” The diverse scenery made it “one of the pleasantest on the coast of China.”¹⁸ Despite having a large number of buildings on the island, Gulangyu managed to retain its distinguished natural elements, such as bays, hills and rocks.¹⁹

According to a sailing directory of 1843, “a pinnacle rock” stood three cables north of Gulangyu. Between the rock and the island was a bay called Kangtai’ an 康泰 垵 [Bay of Health and Peace]. West of the rock, there was another bay known to the locals as Da’aonei 大澳内 [Inside Big Bay]. At the southern tip of this bay was a cluster of reefs named Dadaogongfan 大道公幡. (See Map 3.7) These two bays were regarded as “good and safe anchorage” and constituted the earliest settlement on Gulangyu – the so-called Neicuoao 内厝澳.²⁰ The southern shore of Gulangyu consists of several excellent beaches. At its western end is the bay of Wugepai 五个牌

¹⁷ Cour, Letter to the editor of the Calcutta Courier, 154.

¹⁸ J. Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1897), 148.

¹⁹ For details of the place names of Gulangyu, see Yang Jibo 杨纪波, “Gulangyu diming cangsang 鼓浪屿地名沧桑 [Change of place names on Gulangyu],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 2 (1997): 168-73; He Bingzhong 何炳仲, “Gulangyu de jiudiming 鼓浪屿的旧地名 [Old place names of Gulangyu],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 3 (1998): 133-41; Fan Shouchun 范寿春, “Gulangyu suotan 鼓浪屿琐谈 [Details of Gulangyu],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 5 (2000): 170-71; Jiang Zhongchun 江仲春, “Gulangyuzhi caifanglu (zhaiyao) 《鼓浪屿志采访录》(摘要) [Record of interview for compiling Gazetteer of Gulangyu (excerpt)],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 6 (2001): 159-62.

²⁰ Anonymous, “Sailing Directions to Accompany Seven Charts of the Coast of China, between Amoy Bay, and the Yángtze’ kiang,” in *Chinese Repository* 12, no.8 (August, 1843): 404; Fan Shouchun 范寿春, “Gulangyu de fayuandi – Jiu’an River 鼓浪屿的发源地—旧庵河 [Cradle of Gulangyu: River of Old Temple],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 4 (1999): 138-39; Yang Jibo, “Gulangyu diming cangsang,” 169.

[Five Boards] where Gulang Rock 鼓浪石 [Rock of Drum and Wave] stands. To its east are the “Golden Beaches,” viz. Gangzaihou 港仔后 [Behind Little Bay], Tianwei 田尾 [End of Land] and Dadeji 大德记 [Big Tait & Co.].²¹ As part of the Inner Harbour, the eastern shore had many old jetties and was extensively reclaimed during the Municipal Period.

A North-South ridge crosses Gulangyu and consists of several small hills, including Yanwei Hill 燕尾山 [Hill of Swallow’s Tail], Bijia Hill 笔架山 [Hill of Brush Holder], Yanzai Hill 岩仔山 [Hill of Little Rock]; Jimu Hill 鸡母山 [Hill of Hen], Langdong Hill 浪洞山 [Hill of Wave and Hole],²² and Qizaiwei Hill 旗仔尾山 [Hill of Little Flag Tail].²³ There are also some well-known hillocks along the ridge, such as Sichongsong 四枞松 [Four King Banyan Trees] and Gongbuju Range 工部局岭 [Range of the Municipal Council]. West off Yanwei Hill, Zhaohe Hill 兆和山 was developed from the above mentioned “pinnacle rock” and was linked with nearby Yuanzaiwei Hill 圆仔尾山.²⁴ A small ridge occupies the southeastern part of Gulangyu. Its main body is Shengqi Hill 升旗山 [Hill of Raising Flag].²⁵ To its south

²¹ Local people called the small valley between Shichuanding and Shikangding as Tianwei [End of Land], because it was a remote area in early days. The nearby beach was also under the name of Tianwei. The beach of Dadeji was named after the residence of the Tait & Co.’s manager, which was on the slope close to this beach. Ye Qing 叶清, “Gulangyu fengjing dimao chengyin jiqi kaifa qianjing 鼓浪屿风景地貌成因及其开放前景 [Geographical origin of Gulangyu’s scenery and its future development],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 8 (2002): 6.

²² Langdong Hill was also called Langdang Hill 浪荡山, Luotuo Hill 骆驼山 [Hill of Camel], and Guizai Hill 鬼仔山 [Hill of Little Ghost]. Fan Shouchun, “Gulangyu suotan,” 171.

²³ Qizaiwei Hill was christened as Yingxiong Hill 英雄山 [Hill of Hero] after 1949. Cai Wentian 蔡文田, “Qinyuan xinzi 琴园新姿 [New situation of Qin Garden],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 2 (1997):176.

²⁴ Zhaohe Hill was also called Xiangguan Hill 饷馆山 [Hill of Customs Station], because of the former native customs on its top.

²⁵ Shengqi Hill was formerly called Mi’le Hill 弥勒山 [Hill of Buddha] or Shiku Hill 石窟山 [Hill of Rock Cave]. Yang Jibo, *Diming mantan* 地名漫谈 [Talk of place names], privately publish, 1998,

are many mounds, such as Shichuanding 石船顶 [Top of Stone Ship], Jiguan Hill 鸡冠山 [Hill of Cockscomb], Dongshanding 东山顶 [Top of Eastern Hill], and Shikanding 石堪顶 [Top of Stone Ridge], etc.²⁶

According to William Power, “thickly scattered over the sides and tops of the hills were numerous granite rocks and boulders in many places, fantastically piled and poised.”²⁷ It was due to indigenous custom that the rocks have been largely preserved on Gulangyu.²⁸ These includes Riguan Rock 日光岩 [Sunshine Rock],²⁹ Guancai Rock 观彩石 [Cloud Watching Rock], Bijia Rock 笔架石 [Brush Rack Rock], Mianbao Rock 面包石 [Bread Rock], and Jimu Rock 鸡母石 [Rock of Hen], and Luerjiao 鹿耳礁 [Reef of Deer Ear].³⁰ (Map 1.2)

Geographical features had great influence on shaping the urban formation of Xiamen. In the beginning, the topography was organized as fortification to counter foreign invasion. Xiamen was planned as a natural garrison and Gulangyu became a part of the defense. Later, it developed its accessible deep-water harbour turning

41. Although people always refer the former Longtou Hill 龙头山 [Hill of Dragon Head] to Yanzai Hill, the archeological finding of 1983 shows that it was today's Shengqi Hill. He Bingzhong 何丙仲, “Zuizao de Gulangyu ditu,” *Xiamen wanbao* 厦门晚报 [Xiamen Evening Newspaper], July 9, 1997.

²⁶ Shikanding was also called Caozi Hill 草籽山 [Hill of Grass Seed]. He Bingzhong, “Gulangyu de jjudiming,” 133-34.

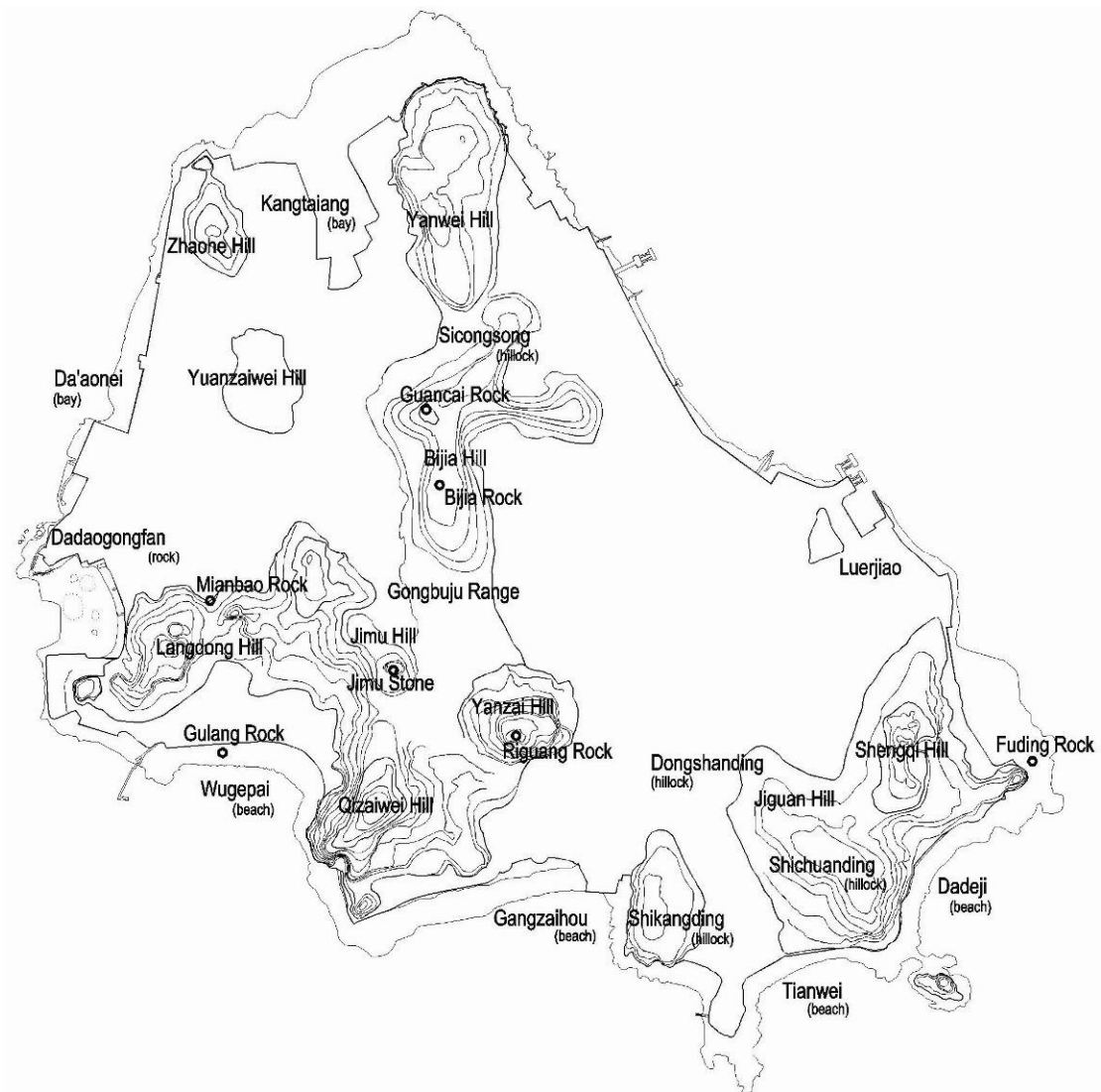
²⁷ William James Tyrone Power, *Recollection of a three yeas' residence in China: including Peregrinations in Spain, Morocco, Egypt, India, Australia and New Zealand* (London: R. Bentley, 1853), 132. (hereafter cited as *Recollection of a three yeas' residence*)

²⁸ About the discussion of this indigenous custom and its influence, see the section of “Religious Belief and Ancestral Worship” of this Chapter and the section of “Respecting Indigenous Custom” of Chapter 6.

²⁹ Riguan Rock is also call Huang Rock 晃岩, because the Chinese character of Huang 晃 consists of ri 日 and guang 光.

³⁰ Luerjiao is a general name of six reefs, viz. Yindou Rock 印斗石, Fuding Rock 覆/复鼎岩 [Rock of Conversing Vessel], Jian Rock 剑石 [Rock of Sword], Lu Reef 鹿礁 [Reef of Deer], Zhangyu Reef 章鱼礁 [Reef of Octopus], Goutou Reef 狗头礁 [Reef of Dog Head]. Generally, Luerjiao is used to name the area near these reefs. Ye Qing, “Gulangyu fengjing dimao,” 5.

Xiamen into a maritime commercial center. This contributed to its waterfront urban character. The urban structure, generated from the local's utilization of natural environment, had a certain rationality that directed later development of Xiamen and Gulangyu.



Map 1.2 Schematic Map of Hills, Rocks and Bays on Gulangyu

1.2 From Military Post to Maritime Center

Perhaps no place along this entire coast has had a more interesting and exciting story to tell than this same small island. ... It has been the theater of many a fierce struggle, and the strong strategical [strategic] position, or gateway to all the vast territory beyond (even Formosa itself), [and was]

*coveted alike by the Manchus, the Long-haired Rebels, the Dutch and the Japanese.*³¹

Carl Crow. *Handbook for China*. 1933.

Carl Crow briefly summarized the turbulent history of Xiamen. The Middle Kingdom's isolation and the popularity of Chinese commodities globally fueled accessible Xiamen with its weak administration to become a smuggling hub known to the Chinese and foreign adventurers, after designation of Haicheng 海澄 as the administrative center of this district in 1567.³² The Portuguese ushered foreign trade in Xiamen not long after they arrived at Canton in 1516. Subsequently, the Spaniards established stable trade with this port in 1575. In early seventeenth century, the Dutch also attempted to trade in this district.³³

After the Manchus overthrew the Ming to rule China, Zheng Chenggong (also known as Koxinga), the so-called "last warrior"³⁴ of the Ming set up an anti-Qing citadel on Xiamen in 1655, and renamed the island as Simingzhou (Island of Mindful of the Ming). Koxinga's policies primarily led Xiamen to become a maritime center, as the factors of the East India Company observed:

The King, Koxinga, a Ming partisan, still held Formosa against the Manchus, and with it he held Amoy and a fluctuating extent of country along the southern coast of Fukien. To maintain his forces and administration he had taken into his own hands a monopoly of the

³¹ Carl Crow (1883-1945) was "originally from Missouri and moved to Shanghai in 1911 to help found the English language China Press newspaper." He became a "prolific journalist, adman, hostage negotiator, police sergeant, farmer and propagandist." *Handbook for China* was one of his best selling books and ran through 13 editions. Paul French, http://www.shanghaidiaries.com/archives/2005/01/30/the_best_70yearold_map_of_shanghai/ (accessed June 7, 2005) Carl Crow, *Handbook for China: including Hong Kong*, 5th ed. (Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh Limited, 1933; repr., Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1973), 378.

³² Ng, *Trade and Society*, 48.

³³ Wu, *Xiamen kaogu yu wenwu*, 101; Bowra, "Amoy," 816; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 44.

³⁴ Gabriele Foccardi, *The Last Warrior: the Life of Cheng Ch'eng-keng; the Lord of the "Terrace Bay", a Study on the T'ai-wan-chih by Chiang Jih-sheng (1704)* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1986).

*principal articles of produce of the island, sugar and hides; and combining a trade with Amoy and the adjacent parts of Fukien on the one hand, and with Japan (to which he sent fifteen junks annually) on the other, ...*³⁵

Qing's prohibitions on foreign business gave Koxinga a chance to reorganize the maritime network and set up *wushang* 五商 [five merchants] and *shihang* 十行 [ten companies] in China.³⁶ In order to cut off the economic source of Koxinga's resistance, the Qing court issued a series of imperial prohibitions on foreign trade.³⁷ However, these actions stimulated the expansion of Koxinga's commercial empire, as the Qing scholar Yu Yonghe 郁永河 criticized:

*Our court strictly forbid foreign trade, and no sailing was allowed. However, through heavily bribing customs officers on duty, merchants monopolized the maritime trade and secretly communicated with the Zhengs to transfer goods to Xiamen, further to foreign countries. Thus, the only way to obtain Chinese commodities was from the Zheng family, who solely controlled the foreign trade. It financially sustained their resistance.*³⁸

Under these circumstances, "foreign trade naturally found that it could best be carried on in the port governed by the strong hands of the Koxinga family."³⁹ "Even under the old system of intercourse with China, Amoy was better known to Europeans

³⁵ Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company: Trading to China, 1635-1834*, vol. 1 (New York: Paragon Book Gallery, Ltd., 1926~1929), 44.

³⁶ Five of the *shihang* with the names of *jin* 金 [metal], *mu* 木 [wood], *shui* 水 [water], *huo* 火 [fire], *tu* 土 [earth] had headquarters in Hangzhou 杭州 to collect inland commodities, and another five called *ren* 仁 [benevolence], *yi* 义 [righteousness], *li* 礼 [propriety], *zhi* 智 [wisdom], *xin* 信 [fidelity] were located in and about Xiamen to transfer goods abroad. Nan Xi 南栖, "Taiwan zhengshi wushang zhi yanjiu 台湾郑氏五商之研究 [A Study of the five merchant firms established by the Zhengs of Taiwan]," in *Taiwan zheng chenggong yanjiu lunwenxuan* 台湾郑成功研究文选 [Anthology of studies of Zheng Chenggong in Taiwan], comp. Academic Group for the Studies of Zheng Chenggong Forum 郑成功研究学术讨论会学术组 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe 福建人民出版社, 1982), 194-208.

³⁷ XMZ, 35.

³⁸ Translation mine. Yu Yonghe 郁永河, *Zhengshi yishi* 郑氏逸事 [Anecdotes about Zheng Chenggong], quoted in Li Xiaofeng 李筱峰, *Bugang huitou xiang botao* 不敢回头向波涛 [Dare not look back the sea], <http://www.linyhome.com/j/j234.htm>. (accessed June 23, 2005)

³⁹ Bowra, "Amoy," 816.

than most cities on the coast.”⁴⁰ Eventually, the Qing Government realized that maritime trade “not only yield considerable customs revenue for the government, but also provide a livelihood for the maritime population in an overcrowded region lacking land suitable for cultivation.”⁴¹ After reoccupying Xiamen in 1680, Emperor Kangxi abolished the maritime prohibitions in 1681 and rescinded foreign trade in 1684. He designated Xiamen as the sole port in Fujian to conduct trade with Nanyang (Southeast Asia). Xiamen ceased to be a pirate refuge and a rebel base, and turned into a legitimized maritime center.⁴²

Although the foreign policies of the Qing were far from being stable, Xiamen was no doubt a flourishing commercial center before the First Opium War. The Qing Scholar, Liang Zhangju 梁章钅 recalled that, “(in 1786) ... Amoy was crowded with yang-ch’uan [*yangchuan* 洋船]. The merchants were prosperous. Beautiful scenery and splendid houses were everywhere. It was the richest city in the South.”⁴³ During his short visit to Xiamen in the early 1830s, Rev. Charles Guzlaff was impressed and said that, “its excellent harbour has made it, from time immemorial, one of the greatest emporiums of the empire, and one of the most important markets of Asia.”⁴⁴ According to him, Xiamen merchants had “more than 300 large junks”, and “carries on an extensive commerce, not only to all the ports of China, but to many also in the

⁴⁰ George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Island of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society in the Years 1844, 1845, 1846* (London: Seeley, Burnside, & Seeley; Hatchard & Son; J. Nisbet and Co., 1847), 480. (hereafter cited as *Consular Cities of China*)

⁴¹ Ng, *Trade and Society*, p. 61.

⁴² Ibid., 55-56.

⁴³ Liang Zhangju 梁章钅 (1775-1849), *Tuian suibi* 退庵随笔 [Random notes from the Tuian], (Shanghai: Wenming shuju 上海文明书局, 1837; rept. Jinan: Qilu shushe 济南齐鲁书社, 2001), 1943. quoted and translated in Ng, *Trade and Society*, 61.

⁴⁴ Charles Guzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832 & 1833 with Notices of Siam, Corea and the Loo-Choo Island*, 2nd ed. (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834), 172. (hereafter cited as *Journal of Three Voyages*)

Indian Archipelago.”⁴⁵ British troops that invaded Xiamen in 1841 were also surprised at the splendid scene that “about one hundred sizeable junks were anchoring well in the spacious and well-protected Inner Harbour.”⁴⁶ In Zhou Kai’s words, Xiamen of 1832 was “as flourishing as a capital city.”⁴⁷

In the middle of the nineteenth century, “though possessing only an estimated population of about 150,000,” Xiamen “has three times as large a number of trading junks as the important capital of the province itself.”⁴⁸ More importantly, it had already been transformed from a former military post to a maritime center. Its commercial system had taken shape one and half centuries earlier than the British’s assault in 1841. It is reasonable to assume that a sustainable urban network accompanying the developed commercial system had already come into being prior to the First Opium War.

1.3 Xiamen People and Indigenous Custom

Character of Xiamen People

*Amoy is the port of foreign trade for South Fokien, a region which, though politically and administratively united with the northern half of the province of Fokien, is geographically and ethnologically distinct. Shut off from the other portion of the province and the rest of China by high mountain ranges, the inhabitants of what might be called the Amoy district have always preserved their distinctive peculiarities.*⁴⁹

Cecil Bowra. “Amoy.” 1908.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 119.

⁴⁶ Henry Pottinger, Article annexed to the Circular to Her Britannic Majesty’s Subjects in China dated with 31 August 1841, in *Chinese Repository* 10, no. 9 (September, 1841): 526. (hereafter cited as Article annexed to the Circular)

⁴⁷ XMZ, 35.

⁴⁸ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 481.

⁴⁹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 814.

Cecil Bowra highlighted the geographical and ethnological isolation of Xiamen and its people. As a migrant city, Xiamen congregated Minnanese 闽南人 [South Fujianese] from the neighboring districts. Unlike land-based people in agricultural Chinese society, they were seaborne groups skilled in shipbuilding and oceangoing.⁵⁰ Because of the lack of farmable land and the declining man-land ratio in South Fujian, a large number of Minnanese had to seek their fortune abroad.⁵¹ For centuries, Xiamen had been the port where they departed for unknown foreign countries and was also regarded as “hometown” in their minds. Long-lasting interactions with outsiders resulted in Xiamen people receptiveness of foreigners.⁵² In William Power’s words, they were “extremely open, frank, and good-natured.”⁵³

Rev. Carstairs Douglas, recalling his missionary experience in Xiamen, said that local people “were more outspoken and open than the Cantonese.” Moreover, they had “the spirit of push and of enterprise and the power of colonization.”⁵⁴ Being a port city relying on trade, Xiamen was a commercial city where social status of merchants was higher than that in other traditional Chinese cities. There were four basic status in traditional Chinese society. From high to low: scholars and officials (*shi* 仕), farmers (*nong* 农), artisans (*gong* 工), and merchants (*shang* 商).⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Leo J. Moser, *The Chinese Mosaic: The Peoples and Provinces of China* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1985), 181-3.

⁵¹ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 20.

⁵² According to the editors of the *Chinese Repository*, this English Gentlemen had “an extensive personal acquaintance with Java, Malacca, Singapore, and Siam, and with the Chinese who visited or inhabited those and the adjacent countries.” An English Gentleman, A Familiar Letter Concerning “Fukien,” in *Chinese Repository* 1, no.4 (August, 1832): 151.

⁵³ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 138.

⁵⁴ Rev. Carstairs Douglas devoted twenty-two years of his life to the missionary work in Xiamen. He was born at Renfrewshire, Scotland in 1830, and died at Xiamen in 1877, of cholera. John M. Douglas, *Memorials of Rev. Carstairs Douglas, M. A. LL. D.: Missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England at Amoy, China* (London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1877), 58.

⁵⁵ T’ung-tsu Ch’ü, “Chinese Class Structure and its Ideology,” *Chinese Thought and Institution*, ed. John King Fairbank (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1957), 235, 250.

However, this division was changed into *shi shang nong gong* in Xiamen. Merchants were ranked second to officials and scholars.⁵⁶ According to George Hughes, Xiamen people were “shrewd traders, bold and fearless fishermen, and good sailors,” and “certainly keen in pursuit of the dollar.”⁵⁷ The pragmatism spirit made them adaptive to practical ideas and thinking.

More importantly, Xiamen people were “strictly subjected to recognized principles of national law and the close bonds of family union.”⁵⁸ As Fairbank said, “the Chinese family has been a microcosm, the state in miniature. The family, not the individual, was formerly the social unit and the responsible element in the political life of its locality.”⁵⁹ According to Pitcher, “not the individual, not the individual family so much, but the clan (numbers of families) appears to be at least the predominating characteristic element in the national life of this part of China [Xiamen].”⁶⁰ Family members usually congregated for generations and social norms were developed to guarantee family’s interest.⁶¹ The stability of the familistic society to certain extent preserved family properties, such as ancestral halls and land, etc.⁶²

Moreover, clanship was integrated with local people’s life and is a powerful force in Xiamen. It was further used to bind people from same hometowns or in the same professions. Clan members were to fight for clans’ interest. Neither local authorities

⁵⁶ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 92.

⁵⁷ George Hughes was the Commissioner of the Xiamen Customs from 1862 to 1875. George Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District* (Hongkong; Printed by De Souza & Co., 1872), 54.

⁵⁸ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 489.

⁵⁹ John King Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 4th ed. Enlarged. (Cambridge Mass. and London England: Harvard University Press, 1983), 21.

⁶⁰ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 100.

⁶¹ Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 24.

⁶² For detailed discussion of the familial society in Fujian, see Chen Zhiping 陈支平, *Jin 500 nian lai Fujian de jiazu shehui yu wenhua* 近 500 年来福建的家族社会与文化 [Familial society and culture of Fujian in last five hundred years] (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian 三联书店, 1991).

nor colonial powers dared to challenge the powers of clans. The abandonment of the Japanese Concession in Xiamen typically reflected their influence on constraining growth of foreign power (It will be discussed in Chapter 2). Hence, roles of clanship played in urban development must be considered in interpreting particular urban phenomena of Xiamen and Gulangyu.

Religious Belief and Ancestral Worship

Religious belief played an important role in traditional Chinese life. As Pan Chia-yao pointed out, “the local god of the soil was more frequently worshiped and sacrificed to than the gods of heaven.”⁶³ Worshipping a variety of deities and spirits relating to daily life,⁶⁴ Xiamen people significantly “mixed superstition up in all the business of their life.”⁶⁵ Relative to its small area and population, the number of temples and shrines in Xiamen was impressive. Gazetteer of Egret River recorded twenty-two temples and shrines in Xiamen in 1766.⁶⁶ The number increased to eighty-eight in the Gazetteer of Xiamen in 1832.⁶⁷ Witnessing the natives’ worship of the deceased *tidu* [Shi Lang 施琅], Hamilton commented that, “it seems that the *Chinese* are speedier in their canonizing than the *Romans* are.”⁶⁸

⁶³ Pan Chia-yao, “The Chinese Response to the Early Protestant Missions at the Chinese Treaty-ports (1842-1852): A Study of the Missionary Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Canton and Amoy between 1842 and 1852” Th. D. diss. (Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, U.M.I., 1987), 60. (hereafter cited as *Early Protestant Missions at the Treaty-ports*)

⁶⁴ The gods worshiped in Xiamen include *mazu* 妈祖 [Goddess of the Sea], *tudigong* 土地公 [Lord of Earth], *guandi* 关帝 [God of War, God of Wealth], *guanyin* 观音 [Holy Mother of Help and Mercy], *chiwangye* 池王爷, *baosheng dadi* 保生大帝 [Protector of Life, Great Emperor], etc. It is said that *baosheng dadi* was an imperial title for Wu Ben 吴本, who was a canonized doctor in Ming dynasty. He was also called *wuzhenren* 吴真人 or *dadaogong* 大道公.

⁶⁵ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 159.

⁶⁶ LJZ, 30-4.

⁶⁷ XMZ, 57-9.

⁶⁸ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, ed. William Foster, vol. 2 (London: The Argonaut Press, 1930), 130.

A pragmatic spirit was obvious in religious activities of Xiamen. On one hand, gods were worshipped in different ranks according to their supernatural powers. On the other hand, religious life was closely linked with daily life and religious locales were venues where people with different purposes gathered, conducted religious procession and commercial activities. The surrounding of temples was unavoidably affected by these activities. The faith of local people in turn led to the protection of the religious locales. Pitcher depicted the scenery around temples in the early twentieth century as follows.

*Temples there are by the score, with their hideous looking idols, and where, not only worshippers congregate, but where “all sorts and conditions of men” come, some with their burdens, some with their wares.*⁶⁹

Moreover, each neighborhood in Xiamen had its own neighborhood temple (*shemiao* 社庙) to worship particular gods blessing the neighborhood. For instance, Gulangyu had two neighborhoods. Each of them had its own neighborhood temple – Xingxiangong 兴贤宫 for Yanzaijiao 岩仔脚 and Zhongdegong 种德宫 for Neicuoao.⁷⁰ They were managed and operated by the neighbouring communities. Seasonal processions were organized, during which images of the gods were carried on sedan chairs to patrol around, followed by marching bands.⁷¹ The rise and decline of the neighbourhood temples reflected the situation of their specified neighbourhoods that in turn ensured their operation.

⁶⁹ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 19.

⁷⁰ The other neighborhood temples in Xiamen included Huilinggong 会灵宫 for Aoxishe 澳溪社; Gaominggong 高明宫 for Dongbianshe 东边社; Meirengong 美仁宫 for Weitoushe 尾头社; Haoshigong 豪士宫 for Xibianshe 西边社, etc. XMZ, 59.

⁷¹ Moser, *Chinese Mosaic*, 188.

Ancestral worship was another faith that rooted deep into the local's life. As Rev. John Van Nest Talmage commented, "their respect for ancestors is very great, so much so that the species of idolatry which has by far the strongest hold upon their minds is ancestral worship."⁷² Despite putting in decades of efforts, the missionaries had to recognize that "ancestral worship has its origin both in the family and nation and is both a family and a national custom."⁷³ For the locals to abandon ancestor worship seemed like "breaking away from his nation and becoming an exile forever from all that he ever held dear and sacred."⁷⁴ The ancestral worship was "practiced, not merely by the respectable and well behaved, but also by the most vicious of the community."⁷⁵ According to Hughes, "almost every family has its shrine and idols and ancestral tablets."⁷⁶

Hence, the ancestral worship in Xiamen engendered certain custom and profoundly affected local people's ideas of natural elements. Firstly, they were immensely concerned with burial grounds' *fengshui* 风水, because it would affect fortune of families and the living. Localities of "backing hills and facing water" 背山面水 were regarded as ideal burial sites with excellent *fengshui*. Time and place of ceremony strictly followed the instructions of "the professors of *fengshui*."⁷⁷ "No one dared to disobey the decision of the geomancer, despite the profits of the field were diminished."⁷⁸ Efforts were made to prevent ancestors' graves from being disturbed.

⁷² John Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China: The Life of Rev. John Van Nest Talmage, D. D.* (Anson D. F. Randolph & Company / New York: Press of N. O. Jenkin's Son, 1894), 64. (hereafter cited as *Forty Years in South China*)

⁷³ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 128.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 138.

⁷⁵ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 63.

⁷⁶ Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China*, 61.

⁷⁷ John Thomson, *Through China with a Camera* (Westminster: A. Constable & Co., 1898), 101.

⁷⁸ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 176-9.

During their occupation on Gulangyu, the British officer noted that “many tombs were opened and the remains were removed to other spots by their families, because the ancestors’ spirit was disturbed by the neighbouring Fangui [barbarians].”⁷⁹

Secondly, local people had a unique attitude towards rocks. They believed that the spirits always hid behind rocks and among caverns.⁸⁰ Many boulders in Xiamen were “engraved by nature-worshiped.”⁸¹ Moreover, they were linked with the fate of the city. For example, a rock on Gulangyu was “curiously poised and propped up by Rocks,” because the natives said that “when this rock topples over the doom of Amoy will be imminent.”⁸² (Fig 1.1)

Local people also believed that rock was the source of good *fengshui*. Poor families usually exhumed their deceased after about fifteen years and deposited the remains into large earthenware jars. These jars were then placed around rocks to pursue good fortune for their families.⁸³ During their occupation on Gulangyu, the British soldiers discovered a number of stone jars under or among rocks. “These jars contained perfect human skeletons disarticulated, each bone carefully packed and numbered or marked with red paint.”⁸⁴ The similar description could be found in William Power’s manuscript too.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 160.

⁸⁰ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 181.

⁸¹ John Stuart Thomson, *China Revolutionized* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-merrill Company, 1913), 378-9.

⁸² Price, *Ku-lang-su*, plate 1.

⁸³ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 182.

⁸⁴ Cour, 154, see note 14.

⁸⁵ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 132.

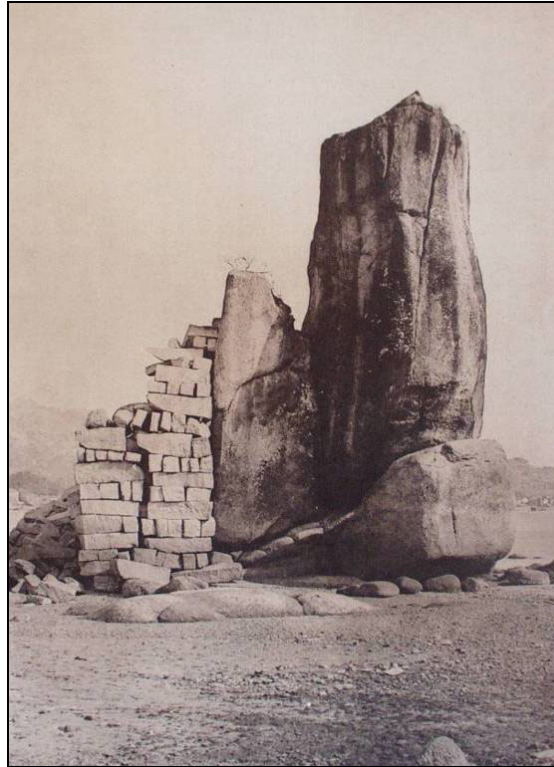


Figure 1.1 Rock at Sin-lo-tau. (Source: Price, *Ku-lang-su*, plate 1)

As Pan summarized, the ancestral worship in traditional Chinese society “symbolized the continuity of families.” In turn, it “made the family, the basic unit of society, a stabilizing force for the society.”⁸⁶ Because of the indigenous customs, natural elements were treated in unique ways in the urban development of Xiamen, including Gulangyu. The stability of the Chinese society and the power of religious belief insured the continuity of these customs and further made the preservation of original urban structure feasible.

***Baojia* 保甲 System**

Besides these social and familial norms, Xiamen had also been strictly controlled by the *baojia* system that was evolved from ancient Chinese laws.⁸⁷ As the Article

⁸⁶ Pan, *Early Protestant Missions at the Treaty-ports*, 54.

⁸⁷ *Baojia* 保甲 System has been translated by scholars as Watching Group System, or Household Administration System, or Mutual-Responsibility System. For the genesis and history of the *baojia*

No. 15 of the Imperial Edict, the principle of uniting *Bao* and *Jia* to extirpate robbery and theft (*lian baojia yimi daozei* 联保甲以弭盗贼) was extensively used to control Chinese society and suppress criminals in Qing. The *baojia* system formed a pervasive civil web integrated with mutual responsibility.⁸⁸ (Appendix 1) This system continued in force in Republican China and was promoted nationwide by *Guomindang* 国民党 in 1929.⁸⁹ Even the Gulangyu Municipal Council realized its importance and legalized it in the Settlement in 1936.

According to the *baojia* system, an area was usually divided into many *she* 社 [Neighbourhood] consisting several *bao* 保 [District] that were subdivided into several *jia* 甲 [Group] with certain *Hu* 户 [Family]. And each *bao* appointed a *baozhang* 保长 [Director of *bao*], with *jia*zhang 甲长 [Director of *jia*] subordinated to him.⁹⁰ There were forty-five *bao* in Xiamen, and its urban sector consisted of four *she*, i.e. Fushang Neighborhood 福山社, Huaide Neighborhood 怀德社, Fuzhai Neighborhood 附寨社 and Hefeng qianhou Neighborhood 和凤前后社.⁹¹

Under the *baojia* system, every member is responsible for behaviours of the others in the group. For instance, in filing personal application for shipbuilding, the government would check if the applicant has a honest and qualified background and

system, see Li Zonghuang 李宗黄, *Xianxing baojia zhidu* 现行保甲制度 [Existing *baojia* system] ([Shanghai?]: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1943); Wen Juntian 闻钧天, *Zhongguo baojia zhidu* 中国保甲制度 [*Baojia* System in China] ([Shanghai?]: Zhixuexuan 直学轩, 1933); Chen Boyin 陈伯瀛, *Zhongguo tianzhi congkao* 中国田制丛考 [Studies of Land Scheme in China] (Taipei: Mingwen shuju 明文书局, 1985).

⁸⁸ As the editors of the *Chinese Repository* stated, the Sacred Edict contained sixteen maxims of the Emperor Kangxi, amplified by the Emperor Yongzheng. Rev. William Milne was a Protestant missionary at Malacca, who translated the Sacred Edict and published it in London in 1817. William Milne, trans., *The Sacred Edict*, in *Chinese Repository* 1, no. 8 (December, 1832): 313.

⁸⁹ Li, *Xianxing baojia zhidu*, 1-2.

⁹⁰ Li, *Xianxing baojia zhidu*, 187; Wen, *Zhongguo baojia zhidu*, 376.

⁹¹ XMZ, 44-5.

would make sure that the ship will not be used for other purposes. Then the *jiazhang* and his neighbours must be present in the court to sign a warranty for the applicant. Thereafter, he will be given a shipbuilding license. Every ten boats were organized into one *aojia* 澳甲 according to their boat licenses. If one of them committed crime, the other nine would in turn be likewise convicted. And the people guaranteeing him would be dealt with as accomplices.⁹² According to Zhou Kai, Xiamen was controlled by the *baojia* system due to her particular geographical and social situations.

*Surrounded by water and fleets, Xiamen was a haven for thieves and gangsters. To protect inhabitants and supervise this district, the court divided Xiamen into several baos according to the topography. Each bao was managed by baozhang cooperating with jiazhang. To ensure public security, every ten families were organized into one group holding one lamp, and these families should watch out the neighborhood in turn at night. During the winter time, barriers were set up at the important posts of the bao, and curfew was carried out to strengthen the collective safety. In order to extirpate criminal in the long term, the civil and military officials should inspect around at any moment.*⁹³

The urban landscape of Xiamen also showed the imprint of the *baojia* system, as we read in Talmage's description of Xiamen in 1853.

*The streets of Amoy are very narrow. The widest are only a few yards wide. At very short distance apart, there are gates across the streets. The object of these gates and the principal cause of the streets being so narrow are to protect the inhabitants from gangs of thieves. In the winter season, when men have more leisure and more temptation to plunder, these gates are closed every night. During the present winter the people seem to have had more fear of robbers than usual. Old gates have been repaired and many new gates have been built.*⁹⁴

⁹² Ibid., 108, 111, 141.

⁹³ Ibid., 45.

⁹⁴ Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China*, 133.

Under the *baojia* system, *bao* was an important unit of the neighborhood and *baozhang* was a key person in land transactions. Any land transfer and construction in neighborhoods must be recorded by *baozhang*, who would report it to the Magistrate at the end of year.⁹⁵ The role of *baozhang* played in land transactions had been retained on Gulangyu after the First Opium War and affected its urban transformation, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Although the influence of locals' character and customs on urban development is difficult to be quantified, it crucially affected urban transformation of Chinese cities after the First Opium War, even in an international settlement like Gulangyu. Although locals were open to foreign influence due to their long-lasting interactions with the outside world, they were directed by the *baojia* system, guided by the religious belief and ancestral worship, as well as tied by the clanship. Traditional Chinese society did not undergo changes immediately after the foreign invasions. The stability of family structure sustained Chinese social norms and indigenous customs, and further influenced the urban transformation of Gulangyu in a semi-colonial era.

1.4 Building Xiamen

Utilization of Natural Environment

According to Zhou Kai – the compiler of the Gazetteer of Xiamen – the town of Xiamen was constructed by Zhou Dexing with consideration of the elements of *yin* 阴 and *yang* 阳, as well as flowing water. Topography was one of the key factors in

⁹⁵ XMZ, 140-1.

his planning.⁹⁶ Consequently, the walled town looked like “a stupendous citadel of natural formation.”⁹⁷ The circumference of this small citadel in 1395 was about 425 *zhang* 丈 (about 1388 meters) and the height of the city wall (including *nu'qiang* 女墙 [Crenel]) was 1.9 *zhang* (about 6.2 meters) and its thickness was 8.5 *chi* 尺 (about 2.78 meters). Four gates with towers were placed at four cardinal points - the eastern gate called Qiming 启明, the western one Huaiyin 怀音, the southern one Qiade 洽德, and the northern one Huangshu 潢枢.⁹⁸ This town had been renovated three times and maintained in good condition during the Ming dynasty.⁹⁹

The walled town was retained by Koxinga to fight against Qing troops. His son, Zheng Jing (Cheng Ching 郑经) appointed Weng Tianyou (Weng T'ien-yu 翁天祐) as *zhuanyunshi* 转运使 [Chief Controller of Revenue or Transport Commissioner] in 1663. Weng “reconstructed the township, designed the market places, and built the temples. All the new streets and the cross-roads were planned by him for the first time.”¹⁰⁰ Although his planning was disrupted in 1665 and the Town was demolished by the Qing court in 1680, scholars believe that “the later development was still modeled on Weng’s original plan.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Ibid., 36-7.

⁹⁷ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 483.

⁹⁸ There were 496 pieces of Buttress (*duozi* 垛子) on the wall. Wu, *Xiamen kaogu yu wenwu*, 44.

⁹⁹ The first renovation took place in 1417, when the height of the city wall was increased by three *chi* (around 0.98 meters) and Enceinte Wall (*yuecheng* 月城) was attached. The second one was the addition of the Defensive Towers (*dilou* 敌楼) to each gate in 1443. At that time, both sides of the city wall were reinforced with stones. The last renovation of the town was done in 1602 to rearrange fortification. XMZ, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Lin Qianguang 林谦光, *Taiwan jilue* 台湾纪略 [A Brief Account of Taiwan], 1685, in Congshu Jicheng Xinbian 丛书集成新编 [A new collection of collectanea], vol. 97 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chubang gongsi 新文丰出版公司, 1984), 186, quoted and translated in Ng, *Trade and Society*, 51-52.

¹⁰¹ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 51-2. Because Koxinga has been worshiped by local people as a patriotic hero, many place names in Xiamen still referred to him, such as Yanwuchang 演/偃武场 [Parade

Marquis of Jinghai 靖海侯 Shi Lang 施琅 reconstructed the town of Xiamen in 1683 and completed it two years later. Its circumference was expanded to 600 *zhang* (about 1959 meters). Three of the four gates were at their original locations, and the western gate was moved westwards to the junction of today's Xinhua Road 新华路 and Datong Road 大同路.¹⁰² The Town went through stages of renovation in 1752 and 1806.¹⁰³ Being an important military site, both the Island of Xiamen and the Island of Gulangyu were "exceedingly well fortified." Many forts were set up at strategic places, especially on waterfront areas.¹⁰⁴

This walled town was well maintained in the nineteenth century as Talmage described in a letter to the Sabbath school of the Central Reformed Church, Brooklyn. He said that, "the city proper or citadel is about one mile in circumference. Its form is nearly that of a rhomboid or diamond. It is surrounded by a wall about twenty feet in height, and eight or ten feet in thickness, built of large blocks of coarse granite. It has four gates."¹⁰⁵ An illustration of Xiamen in 1900 portrayed its urban setting which reflected early consideration for topography and military fortification. (Map 1.3) It is reasonable to conclude that a developed urban structure originating from the Chinese ideas of utilizing natural environment had formed before the First Opium War and was maintained in the beginning of the twentieth century.

ground], Shuicaotai 水操台 [Navy ground], Dazouma Road 大走马路 [Big horse racing road], Xiaozouma Road 小走马路 [Small horse racing road], Jiandao 箭道 [Road of Shooting Arrow] and Waijiaochang 外校场 [Outside parade ground], etc. Ralph C. Croizier, *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth, and the Hero* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center / Harvard University: Harvard University Press, 1977); Wu, *Xiamen kaogu yu wenwu*, 114-6; Fang, *Xiamen diming congkan*, 18.

¹⁰² Wu, *Xiamen kaogu yu wenwu*, 44.

¹⁰³ XMZ, 48.

¹⁰⁴ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 46; Pottinger, 526. see note 46; Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 378.

¹⁰⁵ Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China*, 59.



Map 1.3 Detail of Geographical Illustration of Xiamen and Neighboring Islands 厦门及附近岛屿形势图 (局部), 1900. (Source: A Photocopy of map provided by Gong Jie 龚洁¹⁰⁶)

1. Town of Xiamen; 2. Daoyeya; 3. Yanwuting 演武亭 and Jiaochang 较场; 4. Foreign Customs; 5. Haifangting and Academy; 6. Xiamengang; 7. Xiamen Big Customs; 8. Xiamen Big Market; 9. Gulangyu; 10. Fort; 11. Big Fort; 12. Baishitou (Fort 白石头); 13. Zhen'nanguan 镇南关; 14. Xiaodan 小担; 15. Dadan 大担; 16. Nantaiwu Hill 南太武山; 17. Wuyuxun 浯屿汛; 18. Jiyu 鸡屿 [Chicken Island]; 19. Xingyu 星屿 [Star Island]; 20. Yuantonggang 圆通港; 21. Wutongtou 五通头.

¹⁰⁶ Mr. Gong Jie was the former curator of the Xiamen Museum. During interviews with him in 2003, he kindly presented me with a photocopy of this map. According to him, the original map was collected in the National Library of China at Beijing in 1980s.

Multi-centered Urban Distribution

The earliest record of Xiamen was during the Song Dynasty. Administratively, it was a part of Tong'an 同安, a district of the Prefecture of Quanzhou 泉州.¹⁰⁷ The island had a primitive administrative system even after the establishment of Zhongzuosuo. However, Koxinga's resistance exposed its strategic importance and highlighted the difficulty in effectively administering this island. The Qing Court "had learned to keep constant vigilance over what it thought the most unruly people in the country, not by force but by attempting to accommodate their way of living."¹⁰⁸ Hence, Emperor Kangxi set up a flexible and delicate system to minimize possible outbreaks of rebellion in this district.¹⁰⁹ Despite its military and economic importance, Xiamen had never been "a territorial seat of local government."¹¹⁰ This sophisticated system had been maintained in Xiamen through the Qing and left its imprint on the city's multi-centered urban distribution.

Military Center — Tiduya 提督衙

Marquis of Jinghai Shi Lang was assigned as *tidu* 提督 [Provincial Military Commander or Provincial Commander-in-chief] in charge of Fujian Navy. He rebuilt the town of Xiamen where his Yamen 衙门 [Headquarter or Office of the Head of an Agency] was located. Compared with the low rankings of Xiamen's administrative officials, the Commander with sub-1st rank no doubt represented the dominant status

¹⁰⁷ XMZ, 35.

¹⁰⁸ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 61.

¹⁰⁹ For detailed discussion of the military, civil and maritime customs' administration, see Ng, *Trade and society*, 61-74.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 67.

of military power in this port.¹¹¹ Symbolizing the dominance of the military, his Yamen (*tiduya* 提督衙) occupied almost half of the walled town and formed the primary political centre in Xiamen. It had two grand partitions - the southern offices and the northern residential quarter. And a spacious garden was constructed on the highest point of the compound.¹¹² Alexander Hamilton depicted the Citadel in 1690s as following.

*There is a fine large Citadel at the Back-side of the Town, with good high thick Stone-walls, and two Gates that face one another, and in the Middle stands the Teytock's Palace [Tiduya]. The Front of it is build of Wood, and the Back and Sides of Stone, as most Mandareens [Mandarins] Houses are in this Province, as well as the Temples.*¹¹³

Unlike traditional Chinese towns, the Citadel did not have market places, boulevards, pagodas and squares. While walking on its walls for some distance, Cumming noticed the unique scene of this Citadel. He said that, "the walls are much smaller than those of Canton. I saw no tall pagodas, nor great square keeps, such as those which in Canton and Macao look so important, though they are only pawn-shops!"¹¹⁴ George Smith also reported that, "very little commerce is transacted within the city proper, the te-tok's palace [*tiduya*] and gardens occupying a considerable space, and abutting on the wall, so as to interrupt the visitor in his walk around the citadel."¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ According to Ng, the commander was "the most powerful figure in Fukien as far as maritime affairs were concerned." Ibid., 62.

¹¹² XMZ, 50.

¹¹³ Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. 2, 131.

¹¹⁴ According to Cumming's diary, he was supposed to arrive at Xiamen on 24th February, 1879. C. F. Gordon Cumming, *Wanderings in China*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1886), 118-9.

¹¹⁵ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 483.

Besides Yuping Academy 玉屏书院 and some temples, there were 987 barracks inside the town. Yakou Street 衙口街 [Street at the Entrance of Yamen] connecting the *tiduya* and the southern gate was supposed to be the only regular street inside the town. And the others were small lanes.¹¹⁶ However, comparing with the “narrow crowded streets of the suburbs,” the “tolerably paved” streets inside the Citadel were regarded as “broad.”¹¹⁷

Civil Centre — *taiyeya* 太爷衙

Xiamen was under the administration of *zhixian* 知县 [District Magistrate, 7th rank] of Quanzhou, who dispatched *xiancheng* 县丞 [Vice Magistrate, sub-9th rank] as deputy to take charge of police duties. Since this “low-ranking official” could not cope with “too much administrative burden.”¹¹⁸ *Haifang tongzhi* 海防同知 [Maritime Sub-prefect or Maritime Subprefectural Magistrate or Maritime-in-chief, 5th rank] was moved from Quanzhou to Xiamen in 1686. The officer was usually called *Xiafangting* 厦防厅 [Office of Maritime Affairs in Xiamen],¹¹⁹ and his Yamen (*taiyeya* 太爷衙) located on Xiamengang 厦门港¹²⁰ where a civil center was formed away from the walled town. The Police Office for Shixun 石浚司巡检署

¹¹⁶ Wu, *Xiamen kaogu yu wenwu*, 44.

¹¹⁷ Power, *Three Years' Residence in China*, 194.

¹¹⁸ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 63.

¹¹⁹ The duties of the Sub-Prefect ranged from “administering the prefectural seaports, levying customs duties on the merchants and their junks, managing rice shipments from Taiwan, supervising the rationing of the troops, and administering justice locally.” Ibid., 63.

¹²⁰ Xiamengang 厦门港 in Chinese means Harbor of Xiamen. But it was a place name referred to an area on the Island of Xiamen, along the southern entrance of the Inner Harbor.

was also founded on Xiamengang in 1680, whose site was rented from Fang Sichang 房嗣昌.¹²¹

Six years later, the *taiyeya* was set up and became the civic core of this area. It was constructed on a site purchased from the Mo Family 莫氏, and consisted of two parts — the external for offices and the internal for residence. There were attached temples in these two parts. A personnel hostel was added to the compound in 1787.¹²² This civic center was strengthened with the addition of Ziyang Academy 紫阳书院 and Shizai Street 市仔街 [Little Market Street] along the Inner Harbor. Traditionally, Xiamengang was regarded as the Outer Town of Xiamen.

*The city [Xiamen] is about eight miles in circumference, including the outer town, and the North eastern environs; it contains about 350,000 inhabitants. The outer town is called in the native dialect A mng kang [Xiamengang] and is separated from the city by a chain of rocks having a fortified wall along their summit, a paved pass connecting the two.*¹²³

Civil Center — *daoyeya* 道爷衙

While the Sub-prefect could not handle increasing local affairs and Xiamen could not be ranked higher in the administrative hierarchy, the court adopted “a system of checks and balances and mutual supervision.”¹²⁴ In 1726, *taixiadao* 台厦道 [Taiwan-Xiamen Circuit Intendant] supervising Xiamen was replaced by *xingquanyong dao* 兴泉永道 [Circuit Intendant for Xinghua 兴化, Quanzhou and Yongchun 永春, 3b-5a rank]. In the following year, *daotai* 道台 [Circuit Intendant]

¹²¹ XMZ, 50.

¹²² XMZ, 49-50.

¹²³ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 46.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

was moved from Quanzhou to Xiamen.¹²⁵ Being the “chief Chinese official in Xiamen,” he settled his Yamen (*daoyeya* 道爷衙) to the north of the walled town, very close to the *tiduya*.¹²⁶ It formed the second civil centre in Xiamen.

In the early twentieth century, either local people or foreign sojourners knew well about the urban distribution of Xiamen. Cecil Bowra once depicted it as three different parts, namely the “small inner citadel surrounded by a decrepit wall,” “the thickly populated suburbs along the sea-shore,” and the southwest “village of Ê-mng-kang [Xiamengang] with the forts and the parade-ground.”¹²⁷ Interestingly, the *daoyeya* constructed in 1727 on the east of the walled town was omitted in his description, probably because of its close location to the Citadel. The site was brought from a scholar — Huang Zhong 黄钟. The grand compound had not completed till 1739, having numerous offices, forty-four rooms, many temples, and a lot of penthouses for the *daotai* and his aides. Meanwhile, the empty land around the *daoyeya* was distributed to the underling.¹²⁸

***Hubuya* 户部衙 at Commercial Areas**

Beside these province-controlled wheels, a court-controlled bureau – *minhaiguan* 闽海关 [Fujian Maritime Customs] - was established on Xiamen in 1684. *Haiguan jiandu* 海关监督 [Maritime Customs Superintendent, 4th rank or lower] was known by the Westerners as the Hoppo 户部. He “was responsible directly to the court and

¹²⁵ The duties of *daotai* were “shifted from maritime responsibilities to general civil administration” in 1731. He was empowered with military duties and concentrated more on seaport administration after 1767, including “the control of trade, ocean vessels, and courier posts and on the duties of soldier rationing and overseeing the building of war vessels.” Ng, *Trade and Society*, 65-6; XMZ, 35.

¹²⁶ Bowra, “Amoy,” 814.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 813.

¹²⁸ XMZ, 48-9.

thus independent of the provincial government.”¹²⁹ Although Customs was one of the top three civil matters in Xiamen,¹³⁰ the hoppo without official corps was constrained by his middle ranking in the provincial civil and military services.¹³¹ His Yamen (*hubuya* 户部衙) was independent from other three political centres and was close to commercial areas along the Inner Harbour.

Compared with those military and civic centers, the *hubuya* initiated in 1684 was small and humble.¹³² Away from the political centers, it was close to commercial areas – the “thickly populated suburbs” in Bowra’s description. In fact, the Customs houses and its subordinated posts were conveniently settled along the waterfront due to their function and particular status in local administration system.¹³³ Along the Inner Harbour and near old wharves, commercial areas emerged away from the political centers and were developed by local people with the first consideration of natural environment and indigenous custom.

Except the *hubuya*, the political areas were supported with the establishment of official and charitable granaries. They were managed by the officials in the hosting areas. For example, Hengyu Granary 恒裕仓 and Quanfangting Granary 泉防厅仓 at Xiamengang and close to *taiyeya* were under the direction of the Maritime Sub-Prefect. Huiji Granary 惠济仓 supplying food for armies was built not far away from the walled City. Within a stone’s throw from the *daoyeya*, a charity granary was initiated by the *daotai* Ni Xiu 倪琇 in 1826, which was called Xiazhen Charity

¹²⁹ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 70-1.

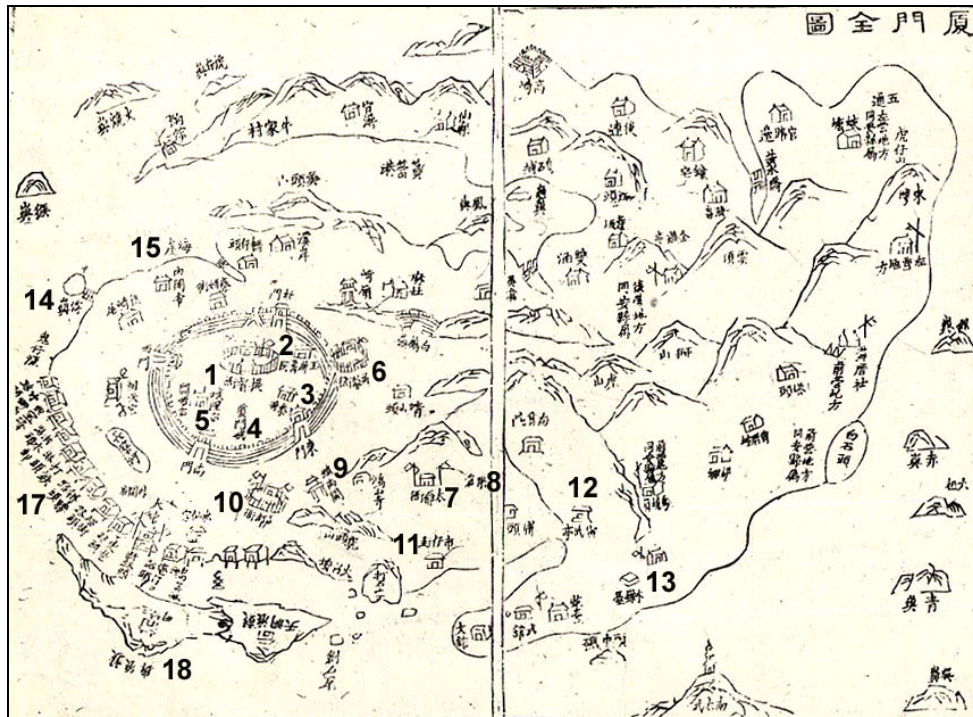
¹³⁰ XMZ, 23.

¹³¹ Ng, *Trade and Society*, 72.

¹³² Zeng Xiande 曾宪德, “Chongxiu xingquanyong daoshu beiji 重修兴泉永道署碑记 [The Inscription of the Reconstruction of the Yamen of Circuit Intendant],” 1864.

¹³³ XMZ, 125-6; Ng, *Trade and Society*, 71-2.

Granary 厦镇义仓. Deserving of mention here, according to the *baojia* system, seven *shecang* 社仓 [Neighborhood granary] were established in the neighbourhoods to supply food to the residents when necessary. One of them was located on Gulangyu.¹³⁴ (Map 1.4)



Map 1.4 Map of Xiamen 厦門全圖, 1832. (Source: XMZ)

1. *Tidufu*; 2. Yiping Academy; 3. *Canfu* 參府; 4. City of Xiamen; 5. Chenghuang Temple 城隍廟; 6. *Daoyeya*; 7. *Taiyeya*; 8. Granary; 9. Zhen'nangan; 10. *Hubuya*; 11. Shizai Street; 12. Yanwuting; 13. Shuicaotai; 14. Fuyu 浮嶼 [Floating Island]; 15. Haian 海岸 [Sea Shore]; 17. Old Wharves along the Inner Harbor; 18. Gulangyu.

In summary, a developed urban structure embodying the influence of topography and political system had taken shape on Xiamen before the First Opium War. The walled town had been constrained by its limited area and military function. On the contrary, small urban clusters were respectively formed around the official buildings and the commercial areas emerged along the Inner Harbour. As a British military

¹³⁴ XMZ, 53-5.

report of 1841 indicated, Xiamen was a highly developed port. Being “a principal third class city of China,” it, “from its excellent harbour and situation, appeared to be well calculated for commerce.” And they identified the city with several parts, including the citadel, “the inner town,” “the outer town,” as well as “the northeastern suburb.”¹³⁵ Despite many urban problems in Xiamen, the early urban distribution and developed urban structure had been maintained throughout the years till large-scale urban reforms took place in the 1920s.

Wharves, Streets, and Commercial Bund

*The district in which this place is situated, is one of the most barren in all China; it is dependent, even for the necessities of life, on the neighboring island of Formosa; yet no spot in the empire numbers so many wealthy and enterprising merchants as Amoy.*¹³⁶

Charles Gutzlaff. *Journal of Two Voyages along the Coast of China*. 1832

Gutzlaff's comment indicated the commercial essence of Xiamen, typical of a port city relying on its harbours. The Inner Harbour “was so deep that the largest Ships may come up close to the Shore, and ride there in perfect safety.”¹³⁷ Many *lutou* 路头 [Wharf or Jetty in local dialect] had been set up along the Inner Harbour as early as the eighteenth century. The names and number of the wharves did not change in the Gazetteer of Egret River of 1766 and the Gazetteer of Xiamen of 1832.¹³⁸

Traditionally, they were assigned to anchor boats from different neighbouring

¹³⁵ Hugh Gough and William Parker, “Capture of Amoy: Official Reports of their Excellencies, the Military and Naval Commanders-in-Chief, it-General sir Hugh Gough, G. C. B., and Rear-Admiral sir William Parker, K. C. R.” 5 September 1841, in *Chinese Repository* 11, no. 3 (March, 1842): 150. (hereafter cited as “Capture of Amoy”)

¹³⁶ Gutzlaff, “Journal of Two Voyages along the Coast of China, in 1831 and 1832,” 534.

¹³⁷ Du Halde, *The General History of China*, vol. 1, 169.

¹³⁸ The eleven old wharves recorded in the two gazetteers were Daomei Wharf 岛美路头, Gangzaikou Wharf 港仔口路头, Xin Wharf 新路头, Dashixiang Wharf 大史巷路头, Cijie Wharf 磁街路头, Desheng Wharf 得胜路头, Xiaoshixiang Wharf 小史巷路头, Datie Wharf 打铁路头, Hongbenbu Wharf 洪本部路头, Dianbao Wharf 典宝路头, Zhushujiao Wharf 竹树脚路头.

areas.¹³⁹ As Gutzlaff reported in 1832, “vessels can sail up close to the houses, load and unload with the greatest facility, have shelter from all winds, and in entering or leaving the port, experience no danger of getting ashore.”¹⁴⁰

An illustration in William Power’s manuscript of 1853 depicted the “Anchor of Amoy,” one of the largest jetties in Xiamen and had a flourishing area behind it.¹⁴¹ (Fig. 1.2) In fact, many markets were formed close to the wharves, such as the Oil market, Vegetable Market, Pig Market, Grain, Bean, and Fruit Markets, etc.¹⁴² Gradually, a comb-style urban structure generated from the old wharves. According to the Western visitors in the nineteenth century, the street markets around the wharves were so busy that “numerous two-storied houses were projecting over the water,”¹⁴³ and streets were flanked with shops that “were filled with customers.”¹⁴⁴

These wharves played important roles in the social and daily life in Xiamen even after the First Opium War. The four Customs Jetties authorized in the 1860s were the old Chinese wharves too.¹⁴⁵ The Map of Old Xiamen City in 1932 exaggerated the size of the wharves along the Inner Harbour and accentuated the consequent comb-style urban structure. (Map 1.5) According to an Official Investigation of

¹³⁹ Yang, *Diming mantan*, 53-5; LJZ, 36; XMZ, 47.

¹⁴⁰ Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages*, 172.

¹⁴¹ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 183.

¹⁴² XMZ, p.46.

¹⁴³ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 187-8.

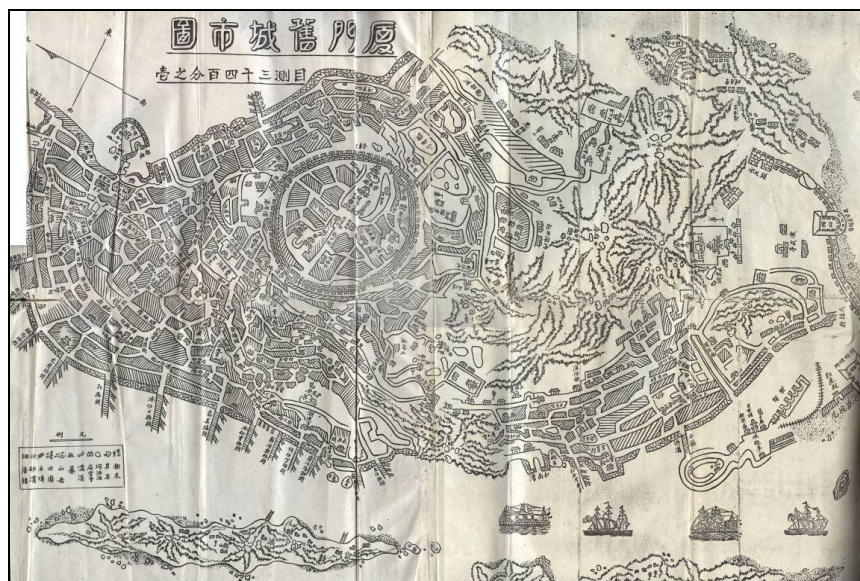
¹⁴⁴ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 166-7.

¹⁴⁵ According to the Customs’ Regulations for the Port of Amoy, “the authorized Customs’ jetties for the examination, landing, and shipment of goods, are those known as the Taou-mei-ma-tau 岛美码头, Kang-ah-kow 港仔口, Sin-lo-tow 新路头, and Sai-hong 吏口 [史巷] wharves. Williams, *The Chinese Commercial Guide*, 183.

Wharves in Xiamen, half of the seventeen docks in 1946 were the old wharves with regard to their names and functions.¹⁴⁶



Figure 1. 2 Anchor of Amoy, 1853. (Source: Power, *Three Years' Residence in China*. facing title page)



Map 1.5 Map of Old Xiamen City 廈門舊城市圖, 1932, Huang Huaqi 黃懷祺. (Source: Xiamen Industrial and Commercial Advertisement Co. 廈門工商廣告社, ed. *Xiamen gongshangye daguan* 廈門工商業大觀 [A Broad View of Xiamen Industry and Commerce], Xiamen: Xiamen Industrial and Commercial Advertisement Co. / Shanghai: Taipingyang yinshua gongsi 上海太平洋印刷公司, 1932)

¹⁴⁶ Construction Bureau of the Xiamen Municipal Government 廈門市政府建設局, "Shizhengfu sike guanyu benshi matou zhuangkuan de han daidian 市政府四科關於本市碼頭狀況的函、代電 [Dispatches and telegrams regarding the situation of city wharves, from Section No. 4 of the Municipal Government]," 1946, Xiamen Archives, 18-1-210.

Through marking the wharves and streets recorded in the Gazetteer of Xiamen on a Map of Xiamen made in 1919, we could identify a clear street network generating from the wharves. It linked the commercial bund with the walled town and other civic centers.¹⁴⁷ (Map 1.6) It is reasonable to conclude that a developed urban structure had taken shape in Xiamen before the First Opium War and had remained unchanged till the old town was torn down and old streets were demolished in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

However, the urban situation of Xiamen had been in a very poor situation before the municipal reforms of the 1920s. As Zhou Kai said in 1832, “the crowded markets and narrow streets in Xiamen were thatched over with mats and slim boards. Soils and ordure mixing with earth accumulated on the streets. People had to frequently flush drains to release niff.”¹⁴⁸ The engagement of local authorities in urban management was limited. In 1847, Robert Fortune degraded this crowd port as “one of the filthiest towns” that he had ever seen.¹⁴⁹ The urban state showed no improvement in 1872 as George Hughes witnessed.

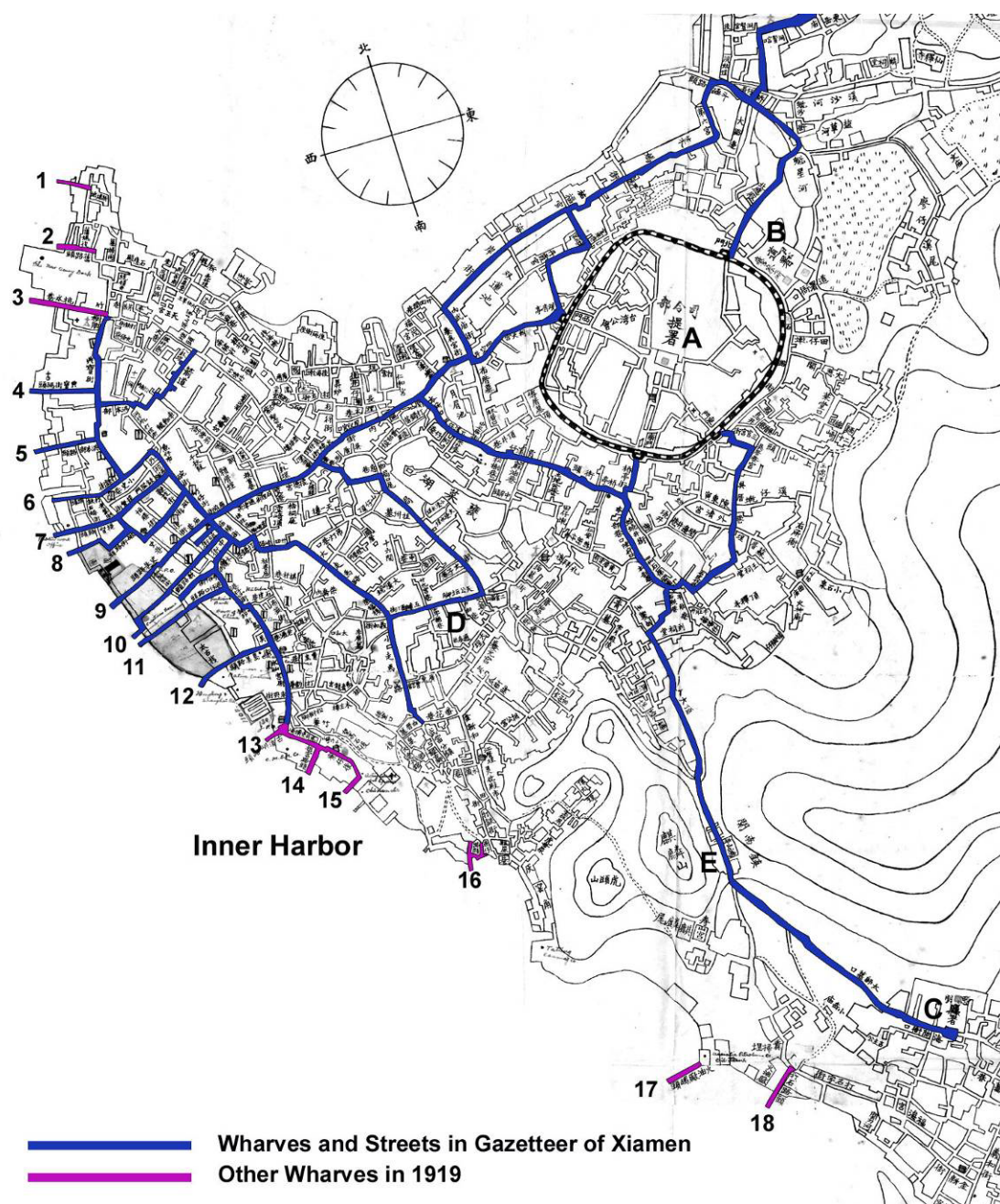
*Amoy is superlatively dirty. The streets, narrow and irregular, are filthy in the extreme and redolent of every impurity. Pigs and dogs are the sole representatives of the elaborate machinery of sanitation in use in European towns, and a scientific sanitarian, with only home experiences to guide him, would confidently predict the reign of epidemics and death.*¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ XMZ, 45.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 46.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China, Including a Visit to the Tea, Silk, and Cotton Countries: with an Account of the Agriculture and Horticulture of the Chinese, New Plants, etc.* (London: J. Murray, 1847), 35-6. (hereafter cited as *Three Years' Wandering*)

¹⁵⁰ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 52.



Map 1. 6 Detail of Map of Xiamen 厦门全图 (局部), 1919. The Map of Xiamen was a gift for the Fourth Anniversary of the Press of *Quanmin* New Daily 全闽新日报社 in 1911. It was reprinted for the Twelfth Anniversary of this Press in 1919. (Source: Personal Collection)

1. Xintiandi 新填地; 2. Jiulutou 旧路头; 3. Zhushujiao 竹树脚; 4. Dianbao Wharf; 5. Hongbenbu Wharf; 6. Datie Wharf; 7. Tidu Wharf; 8. Cijie Wharf; 9. Shixiang Wharf; 10. Xin Wharf; 11. Gangzaikou Wharf; 12. Daomei Wharf; 13. Gulangyu Wharf 鼓浪屿路头; 14. Zugong Wharf 祖宫路头; 15. Liaozaizhou 寮仔后; 16. Yuzai Wharf 鱼仔路头; 17. Huoyouchang Wharf 火油厂码头; 18. Dashi Wharf 打石路头.

A. Town of Xiamen; B. Daoyeya; C. Taiyeya; D. Hubuya; E. Zhennanguan.

Even at the turn of the twentieth century, Xiamen was crowded and unsanitary. “Walking on the long, dark, narrow street,” John Thomson complained that “mud under worn and loose flagstone was always splashed up over clothes.” He further satirized that “mangy dogs and lean pigs were the sanitary authorities of the locality and to them the duty falls to clear up the refuse and garbage.” This is the scene of Xiamen in 1898.¹⁵¹ One year earlier, Macgowan already pointed out the lack of urban management in Xiamen. He said that “the sanitary question has never been seriously discussed and regulated by the town.” Moreover, “no scavenger is ever seen in any of the streets, nor is there any systematic effort ever made to keep them clean.”¹⁵² Although there were underground sewers covered with uneven flagstones, they did not work well.¹⁵³

A developed urban structure sustaining commercial activities had been formed along the Inner Harbour before the First Opium War. Generating from the wharves, the streets were developed in consideration of commercial convenience. However, the urban network did not satisfy the need of growing commerce and population. Due to the lack of systematical urban management, the urban situation worsened in Xiamen and the urban development was also circumstanced by the stagnant urban structure. The poor living environment in Xiamen was naturally not appreciated by foreigners, who shifted attention to Gulangyu, an isolated small isle opposite the Island of Xiamen.

¹⁵¹ Thomson, *Through China with a Camera*, 97.

¹⁵² Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 163.

¹⁵³ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 15-7.

Summary

Compared with other provincial cities in China, Xiamen is a small city with shorter history. In the beginning, it was planned as a garrison with consideration for topography. Owing to the efforts of the Zhengs, Xiamen turned into a maritime center known for its excellent harbour in the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, the Zhengs' resistance highlighted its strategic importance in the Qing. After being legitimized as an important port in China, Xiamen was operated by a sophisticated military and civil system founded by Emperor Kangxi. This multi-centered system was to leave its imprint on the urban distribution of Xiamen. The civic centers scattered around the island and a commercial bund formed along the Inner Harbour, but away from the political hubs. A mature urban structure had taken shape in Xiamen before the First Opium War.

Moreover, the Chinese community in Xiamen was structured under the *baojia* system that not only directed people's daily life, but also guided the formation of urban space. The studies on the building process in Xiamen also show the existence of the land exchange system since the middle of the seventeen century. Due to its particular geographical and historical background, locals in Xiamen are known for their open-mindedness and pragmatism. At the same time, they were bounded by the strong clanship and ancestral worship. Consequently, they fostered certain indigenous customs pertaining to their utilization of natural environment. These customs in turn were preserved by locals due to the stability of the Chinese community even after the First Opium War. As a part of Xiamen, urban development of Gulangyu was no doubt affected by these political, economic, social and cultural factors.

Chapter 2

Gulangyu in Sino-Foreign Interaction

2.1 Before the First Opium War

Sino-Foreign interactions in Xiamen started as early as in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Despite occasional interruptions, foreign vessels frequently visited Xiamen before the First Opium War. Since early sailing technology relied much on the monsoon, junks usually waited for appropriate season in the harbour for several months.¹ However, not many information about foreign activities in Xiamen before the First Opium War have been documented. This section, which is based on records of the East India Company, will discuss early Sino-Foreign interaction in Xiamen. It will also help us understand how local authorities engaged foreigners in the urban development of Gulangyu.

Before the First Opium War, Qing Government's foreign policies were harsh and foreign activities in Xiamen were controlled strictly. Ever since the East India Company set up a factory (business establishment) in Xiamen in 1676,² their factors (agents) kept complaining about mandarins. In their words, Chinese officials across

¹ For example, the private trader *Anne* arrived at Xiamen in 1714 and was detained there for fifteen or sixteen months. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, 150; Power, *Three Years' Residence in China*, 122.

² According to the factors' report, it became the chief factory of the East India Company in China in 1678, with Taiwan subordinated to it. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, 46.

the board, including the Commander, Intendant, Magistrate, Superintendent of the Customs, and their underlings, were involved in and made profits from foreign trade.³ Although the foreigners constructed some factories in Xiamen, they could not be used without permission of local authorities. For instance, when the British ship *Delight* arrived at Xiamen on May 26th, 1684, the supercargoes appealed to offload the cargo into their former factory, as the ship has to undergo repairs. This plea was approved after bribing the officers-in-charge. However, they were ordered to move out on September 8th, because “their factory was required for accommodation of the Dutch.” Through negotiation, they were finally allowed to remain, while the Dutch were provided with another house.⁴

Under normal conditions, foreign ships were required to anchor at the Inner Harbour and merchants were allowed to lease houses in the city. But, sailors had to be on board and only was certain conditions met that they could go ashore. For example, when another ship *China Merchant* was at Xiamen on July 29 1685, “the factors could not obtain the old factory, as it had been converted into a Customs House; after a few days they rented suitable premises from a mandarin.”⁵ More importantly, foreigners’ shore activities were easily controlled. After arriving at Xiamen on 27th

³ Ibid., 52-4.

⁴ Ibid., 52-5.

⁵ Ibid., 57. These factories were always constructed along the Inner Harbor. One of them was “slightly to the northward of the Amoy Dock.” Wm. Fred. Mayers, N. B. Dennys and Chas. King, *Treaty Ports of China and Japan: a Complete Guide to the Open Ports of those Countries, together with Peking, Yedo, Hongkong & Macao, Forming a Guide Book & Vade Mecum for Travellers, Merchants, and Residents in General*, comp. and ed. N. B. Dennys (London: Trübner and Co. / Hongkong: A. Shortrede and Co., 1867), 257.

November, 1689, “the Dutch at Emoy [Xiamen] had for a considerable time, been imprisoned in their own house.”⁶ Another report also states that, “whereupon we were confined to our Factory by strong Guards, not permitting any of us to go on board our Ships, or the Ships’ people to come into the Factory.”⁷

Despite the stringent control of foreigners’ activities, there were some accidents, which were later resolved by local authorities. According to Hosea Morse, “the first recorded instance of extra-territorial jurisdiction over British subjects in China” occurred in Xiamen. When the *London* and *Worcester* visited the port from August 2nd to December 6th, 1687, one drunken British sailor intruded into the Customs house and broke a royal lock. Under the supervision of the Commissioner for Foreign Trade, the sailor was punished by the supercargoes according to the British laws.⁸

During the long-lasting interaction with the foreigners, local authorities gain experiences in their dealings with foreigners. The East India Company’s reports showed that, Gulangyu was used not only as an excellent anchorage and dock for ships, but also an ideal place to isolate outsiders, especially restless sailors. For example, the East India Company’s ship *Loyal Adventure* was allowed to enter the Inner Harbour for repairs on August 30th 1685 and “some of the cargo was sent to

⁶ Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company*, 65.

⁷ Ibid., 129.

⁸ Ibid., 62-4.

Kulangseu [Gulangyu] to be dried.”⁹ The other piece of information was the tragedy of the British War Ship *Harwich*. It reached Xiamen on 12th August 1700 and was prohibited from entering the Inner Harbour. However, this vessel was in need of urgent repair and only under Hamilton’s surety was it allowed to anchor on “a more convenient Place on an Island within three Leagues of the Town” on 19th September. The island was Gulangyu, where the ship was repaired and the Captain with 182 men and boys were camped. Nevertheless, the repaired ship was unfortunately wrecked on 5th October when it set sail.¹⁰

As a place for anchoring leaky foreign vessels and isolating foreigners, Gulangyu had many old foreign cemeteries. According to William Power, “some of the English who died at Amoy were buried at Koo Lung Soo [Gulangyu], and there are tomb-stones in excellent preservation with names and dates as far back as 1640.”¹¹ Robert Fortune recalled that there were some tombstones of Englishmen set up one hundred and fifty years ago (around 1700).¹² George Hughes witnessed the existence of some foreign tombstones dated with 1698 and 1700 on the northeastern end of Gulangyu. He also found a resting place of a Roman Catholic bishop and some old graves of Spaniards in another spot. Interestingly, “these graves

⁹ Ibid., 59-60.

¹⁰ Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 136-42, 196.

¹¹ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 150.

¹² Fortune, *Three Years’ Wanderings*, 42-3.

were in a good state of preservation, due no doubt to some kindly hand.”¹³ According to Pitcher, the old foreigners’ tombstones with dates of 1698, 1700, and 1710 were removed to the Foreign Cemetery in 1905.¹⁴

Foreigners’ activities were not uncommon in Xiamen before the First Opium War, and they accumulated certain knowledge of “the Chinese coast and the potentialities of the trade-marts.” This led to the British selection of Xiamen as one of the first treaty ports in China.¹⁵ Although there were many hindrances with Chinese trade, foreign merchants established close relationship with native traders and Chinese officials. Local authorities also gained experience in handling foreign issues. The foreigners not only constructed factories in Xiamen, but also rented houses from local people. Gulangyu had been designated to lodge suspected barbarians who were active on the island before the First Opium War.

2.2 Xiamen in the First Opium War

The British attack on Xiamen in 1841 showed that the battle was carefully planned based on their close knowledge of the sea-route and urban structure of the port, especially the locations of forts. In fact, the fortification of Xiamen had been

¹³ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 48. Cecil Bowra also reported that “some graves of the foreign sailors occupied a corner on the north-east of the island, where they lay undisturbed in some cases for two centuries.” Bowra, “Amoy,” 817.

¹⁴ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 47.

¹⁵ Bowra, “Amoy,” 819.

regarded as “impregnable.”¹⁶ Even in the British eyes, the defenses “were evidently of great strength, and the country by nature difficult of access.”¹⁷ However, it collapsed after only four hours of continuous firing.

The British flotilla arrived at Xiamen before sunset on August 25th 1841.¹⁸ The next morning, they divided the fleets into two groups – one attacked the batteries on the southern side of Xiamen, and the other assaulted those on Gulangyu. Soon, they broke the Chinese defense at the entrance of the Inner Harbour and landed at these two islands. Further they passed through the southern suburbs and mounted the heights between the town and the citadel where they bivouacked for the night.¹⁹ On the morning of 27th, they took possession of the Citadel without hindrance, and occupied the City for one week.

According to the British military reports published in “Chinese Repository,” they occupied the strategic posts – the military and civil centers of Xiamen. The Artillery was placed “in commanding position upon the top of the pass between the city and the outer town.” The pass was the artery passing by Zhennanguan connecting the walled

¹⁶ [Pottinger], Circular, 525.

¹⁷ Gough and Parker, “Capture of Amoy,” 148.

¹⁸ The flotilla with all 3,500 troops included “two 74s and seven other ships of war, four steamers, twenty-three transports, and two other vessels.” Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 73; Parker, Report to the Earl of Auckland, 152.

¹⁹ For the military reports of the battle, see Pottinger, Article annexed to the Circular, 524-7; Gough and Parker, “Capture of Amoy,” 148-52; W. Parker, Report to the Earl of Auckland, 31 August, 1841, in *Chinese Repository* 11, No. 3 (March, 1842): 152-5; A Correspondent, “The Expedition to China: Narrative of Events since the Battle above Canton; Sickness at Hongkong; Tyfoons of 21st and 26th of July; the Fall of Amoy, Chusan, Chinhae, and Ningpo,” in *Chinese Repository* 10, no. 11 (November, 1841): 618-22.

town and Xiamengang. There “a range of public buildings, in which the sub-prefect of Amoy held his court” (the *taiyeya*) was occupied by the 55th regiment. The Sappers and Miners occupied the commandant’s office near the southern gate of the citadel, and the 18th regiment took “the admiral’s office that was a complete labyrinth of houses and more than sufficient for a regiment.”²⁰ Nearby, they found “a residence of the vice-admiral of Formosa.” Outside the citadel, the intendant’s office – *daoyeya* – was seized by the 49th regiment. As a result, they controlled the northern suburb, because the *daoyeya* was on the only road connecting this part of island with the interior. They also mentioned “in the town was the residence of the commissioner of customs, and a temporary seat of the governor.” But, no troop took it.²¹ The reason could be due to the low official status of the customs in Xiamen as mentioned before..

The military importance of Gulangyu was highlighted in this battle and led to the British four-year occupation. While assaulting Gulangyu, the Britons found it hard to approach Gulangyu due to its “natural defenses.”²² They had to “climb up the rocks to the left of the easternmost battery” and further progressed to the north side of the island.²³ Hence, after evacuating from Xiamen, a detachment of the British troops

²⁰ According to these descriptions, I guess that the commandant’s office was Canfu 参府 [Office for the Assistant Regional Commander] and the admiral’s office was *tiduya*.

²¹ Gough and Parker, “Capture of Amoy,” 150; Anonymous, “Journal of Occurrences: Progress of the War, Doings at Ningpo, Chinhae, and Chusan; Operations at the Nemesis and Phlegethon on the Coast; Notices of Things at Amoy; the Governor’s First Memorial; Hongkong; Seizure of a Boat at Canton; Imperial Cabinet and State of the Country.” in *Chinese Repository* 10, no. 11 (November, 1841): 638-9.

²² Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 162-3.

²³ Gough and Parker, “Capture of Amoy,” 149. The similar record was found in Ellis’ report. J. B. Ellis, Letter to Capt. Bouchier, 27 August 1841, in *Chinese Repository* 11, no. 3 (March, 1842): 157.

amounting to 550 men and three vessels were stationed on Gulangyu.²⁴ The British believed that this small force was “sufficient to hold this small but important possession.”²⁵ As a survey of 1843 shows, there were five batteries on Gulangyu – “two on the south end, another two on the south side and one on the northwest side.”²⁶

Consequently, in the Treaty of Nanjing of 1842, the British required Gulangyu to be held until the Chinese Government paid the indemnity in full.²⁷ They understood the strategic importance of Gulangyu. It “completely commands the city of Amoy and it was capable of easy defense, and not to occupy the town itself.”²⁸ In fact, the stationed British troops were too small to occupy the populous City.²⁹ And the control of Gulangyu could prevent the British fleets from “any risk of molestation while visiting the port during the ensuring season.”³⁰ As they reported, “the retaining possession of Gulangyu would at any time give them the command of Xiamen.”³¹ As

²⁴ Pitcher, *In and About Amoy*, 77.

²⁵ Gough and Parker, “Capture of Amoy,” 151.

²⁶ R. Collinson, “Survey of the Harbor of Amoy,” in *Chinese Repository* 12, no.3 (March, 1843): 126.

²⁷ Article 12 of the Treaty of Nanjing states that, “On the assent of the Emperor of China to this Treaty being received, and the discharge of the first instalment of money, Her Britannic Majesty’s forces will retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and will no longer molest or stop the trade of China. The military post at Chinhái will also be withdrawn; but the island of Kúláng-sú, and that of Chusan, will continue to be held by Her Majesty’s forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants, be completed.” “Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of China,” 26 June 1843, in *Treaties between the Empire of China and Foreign Powers, together with Regulations for the Conduct of Foreign Trade, &c., &c., &c.* ed. William Frederick Mayers (Shanghai: North-China Herald Office / London: Trübner & Co., 1877; repr. Taipei: Ch’eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), 3.

²⁸ Bowra, “Amoy,” 818.

²⁹ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 384.

³⁰ Pottinger, Article annexed to the Circular, 524-5.

³¹ Parker, Report to the Earl of Auckland, 155.

a result, Gulangyu became “the head-quarters and residence for the British” for years.³²

2.3 The British Occupation of Gulangyu (1841~45)

The four-year occupation of Gulangyu was a nightmare for the Britons, who evacuated it in a hurry in the spring of 1845, because “the Government was fearful that by the end of another summer there would be no garrison left at all.”³³ When hearing of the ship *Sapphire*’s arrival, William Power and other surviving British troops could not help expressing their excitement. As he said, “we were plunged into all the bustle of preparation for immediately evacuating the island.”³⁴ He sighed that “no one can conceive the privations and suffering we endured.”³⁵

In the beginning, the British were proud of possessing Gulangyu as a base with military and commercial functions. According to the Chinese report, there were seven foreign ships anchoring on the island in order to sell opium and other goods. “...; they do not presume to carry on their trade at any other place than there; neither do they annoy or vex the natives; nor do they agitate in any other manner.”³⁶

³² Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 380-1.

³³ Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 165.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 209.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 211.

³⁶ Lew Yunko, Document to the Canton Register, in *Chinese Repository* 10, no. 12 (December, 1841): 686-7.

Since the autumn of 1843, the British troops suffered from the climate and were attacked by unprecedented outbreak of diseases. “The little English grave-yard was already nearly full, and the earth was red and fresh with recent interments, scarcely a day passing without two or three being added to the number of the dead.”³⁷ They were almost wipeout by diseases and even reinforcement fell to the diseases soon after their arrival. According to William Power, “out of one hundred and thirty men and eight officers of the 18th Regiment, seventy men and four officers were buried in the island.”³⁸ At the same time, about 360 men fell ill requiring medical treatment. Gulangyu was in a miserable state. “Every quarter and every barrack was a hospital.”³⁹

Why did this picturesque island become hell for the British? William Power found through careful investigation that the tragedy was a result from the evacuation of local population and the British misuse of topography. Gulangyu had been richly cultivated before the War. However, after the British occupation, the natives fled to Xiamen and its neighbouring districts. Consequently, “the numerous small deep glens being no longer cultivated became malarious swamps.” The British troops occupied Chinese houses close to farmland in lower

³⁷ Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings*, 42.

³⁸ Power, *Three Years' Residence in China*, 128.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 164.

ground, and they could not accommodate unwholesome air in damp houses that were “out of reach of the keen winter breezes.”⁴⁰

Moreover, the British cantonments were arranged in the first consideration of defense. The influence of topography on health had been largely ignored. For example, one of the detachments was settled “on the wrong side of the island and overhung by a precipitous granite hill, six hundred feet in height, which refracted a suffocating heat, and completely excluded the breezes of the south-east monsoon, the only wind which prevailed in the summer season.”⁴¹ Another camp was set up on the northern extremity of Gulangyu. It was “in a hollow, shut out by high hills from the south west breeze, and facing a large bay, which, at low water, becomes a muddy flat.”⁴² The mortality rate amongst these two detachments was very high. As Robert Fortune said, the north-eastern and eastern sides of Gulangyu were unhealthy that “the most fatal fever and cholera prevailed to a great extent during the south-west monsoon.” Instead, “the detachment on a different part of the island was perfectly healthy.”⁴³

The British days on Gulangyu ended in a dramatic way. In George Smith’s words, the British “voluntarily ceded Gulangyu to the Chinese, about twelve months before

⁴⁰ Ibid., 129-30.

⁴¹ Ibid., 130.

⁴² Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 48.

⁴³ Fortune, *Three Years’ Wanderings*, 42. William Power also said that the western side of Gulangyu was good for health. Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 130.

the stipulated time of cession.”⁴⁴ Both sides celebrated the moment - the Chinese for returning of their soil and the British troops for leaving the sad place.⁴⁵ This, however, was not the end but the beginning of the British search for appropriate settlement in Xiamen.

2.4 The British Concession⁴⁶

After evacuating from Gulangyu, the British tried to set up a concession in Xiamen. According to the British report, “the treasurer of Fujian was assigned as the imperial commissioner, with special reference to fixing a place for the future residence of foreigners.” Despite the bad experience of their troops on Gulangyu, the British found that no place in Xiamen was better than the tiny island in terms of the geographical location and natural environment. However, “for some undivulged reason, the high authorities were resolved that any other place will answer better than Kúlángsú [Gulangyu], while practically they were puzzled to find any place that

⁴⁴ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 381.

⁴⁵ Power, *Three Years' Residence in China*, 210-1.

⁴⁶ For detailed discussion of the genesis and development of the British Concession in Xiamen, see Chen Yu, “The British Concession in Xiamen (1852~1930)” (Paper, the Fifth modern Asian Architecture Network International Conference, Istanbul, June 27-30, 2005)

would do at all.”⁴⁷ David Abeel also said that, “there appears to be a fixed determination that we shall not remain at Kúláng sú [Gulangyu].”⁴⁸

It is reasonable to assume that the Chinese Government had realized the strategic importance of Gulangyu and was reluctant to cede it to the British again. Although the British complained about the suspension, it forced local officials to negotiate and could do nothing more than wishing “the plenipotentiary to convince the emperor of the expediency of allowing foreigners to remain at Kúlángsú, after the island is restored.” On the other hand, local authorities tried to suspend this issue and transferred the responsibility to Qiying (Kíying 耆英),⁴⁹ who was supposed to make this decision. However, it seemed like that “Kíying never addressed the emperor on the subject for some reason.”⁵⁰

This situation was reflective of the Qing Court’s foreign policies immediately after the First Opium War. The foreign activities were still constrained by local authorities. For example, they could not venture further than a day’s journey from the

⁴⁷ Anonymous, “Journal of Occurrences: Ordinances of the Government of Hongkong Relating to Seamen and to Printing; Members of the American Legation to China; French Consulate; Affairs at Amoy; Shipwrecked Japanese,” in *Chinese Repository* 13, no. 3 (March, 1844): 168. (hereafter cited as “Affairs at Amoy”)

⁴⁸ This article extracted from a journal of the Rev. D. Abeel at Kúláng sú. David Abeel, “Notices of Amoy and Its Inhabitants,” in *Chinese Repository* 13, no.5 (May, 1844): 237.

⁴⁹ Qiying 耆英 (1790-1858) of the imperial clan was the Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi 两广总督 and was in charge diplomatic affairs at that time. He represented the Qing Court to negotiate with the colonial powers and signed on many treaties, such as the Treaty of Nanjing, Treaty of Wangxia (Wanhia 望厦), Treaty of Huangpu 黄埔, etc.

⁵⁰ Anonymous, “Affairs at Amoy,” 168.

treaty ports.⁵¹ As David Abeel reported, local authorities attempted to restrict them in “a few of the more public streets of Amoy.”⁵² Considering that commercial areas in Xiamen were the “market streets” along the Inner Harbour, foreigners were allowed in these places. However, they were forbidden to enter the natives’ houses and Yamens, except the British Consul and officers. Neighbouring villages and towns were not open to foreigners either.⁵³

With the increased of colonial influences and the Qing Court’s passive attitude towards Sino-Foreign issues, local authorities were placed in an embarrassing situation. They had to adopt a shuffling method to minimize direct conflicts with foreigners. On one hand, they could not want to yield to foreign forces. On the other hand, they also could not leave any pretext to the “barbarians” while suspending their demands. This policy was reflected in a secret imperial decree dated with 20th May 1845, in which Emperor Daoguang 道光 (1821-1850) approved the British Consul’s request for the temporary lease of Jicui Temple 积翠寺, because it located within a mountainous forest in the city and more importantly, it was away from residential areas. This is to ensure that the foreigners would not mix with the Chinese. However, the Emperor insisted on the return of Gulangyu and suggested to the British to lease

⁵¹ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 485.

⁵² Abeel, “Notices of Amoy and Its Inhabitants,” 236.

⁵³ Liu Yunke 刘韵珂, memorial, 25 April 1844, in *Daoguang xianfeng laingchao chouban yiwu shimo buyi* 道光咸丰两朝筹办夷务始末补遗 [Supplement of the history of foreign affairs in Daoguang and Xianfeng reigns]. eds. Li Yupeng 李毓澎, and Huang Fuqing 黄福庆. (Zhongyan yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, 1965), 80. (hereafter cited as *Chouban yiwu*)

empty land around the *daoyeya*. At the same time, the General-Governor was carefully required to arrange the local's return to Gulangyu after the British evacuation, in order to avoid possible confrontations with the British.⁵⁴

It is therefore not surprising that the issue of the establishment of a British concession had to be negotiated for many years. In 1845, local authorities agreed to lease two sites at Xiamengang to the British – one at Jiaochang and the other one at Shuicaotai – where only a small number of Chinese tombs and houses were located. However, the British were not satisfied of these places near the *taiyeya*, because they were away from existing waterfront commercial area close to the *hubuya*.⁵⁵ (See Map 1.4 & 1.6) Since then, “the Chinese evaded the request by every means in their power,” and the *daotai* in-charge had avoided meeting the British Consul. Only after Harry Parkes' arrival in November 1851 was this issue settled. He traced the *daotai* to Xinghua and forced out a promise of leasing a good spot to the British in February by the following year.⁵⁶

Hence, a part of foreshore from the Daomei Wharf to the Xin Wharf was leased to the British Government at the annual rental of One Tael per square *zhang*.⁵⁷ This

⁵⁴ Emperor Daoguang, Imperial Decree, 20 May 1845, in *Chouban yiwu*, 110-11.

⁵⁵ Zhao *daotai* 赵道台, Report, 25th day 12th moon of the 1st year of Xianfeng Reign (1852), in JDXMSWDASL, 207.

⁵⁶ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes: K. C. B., G. C. M. G. Sometime Her Majesty's Minister to China & Japan*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 101, 156-7; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China* (London: Methuen & Co., 1901), 63, 66.

⁵⁷ Amoy: Battery and Beach Ground Letter re rental, 1852, PRO, FO678:7.

so-called *wuai zhidi* 无碍之地 [No Trouble Place] was a beach ground “to a depth of twenty chang (about 68.6 meters) from the head of the said wharves towards the sea.”⁵⁸ Since the spot was smaller than the formerly proposed sites at Xiamengang, the British Consul intended to retain parts of those sites to balance the vacancy. It was suspended by the *daotai* too.⁵⁹ Later, the Concession was expanded when the British Government successively obtained three pieces of beach grounds from local authorities in 1862, 1865 and 1866.⁶⁰ Eventually, the British Concession became “the principal business quarter of the town.”⁶¹ (Map 2.1)

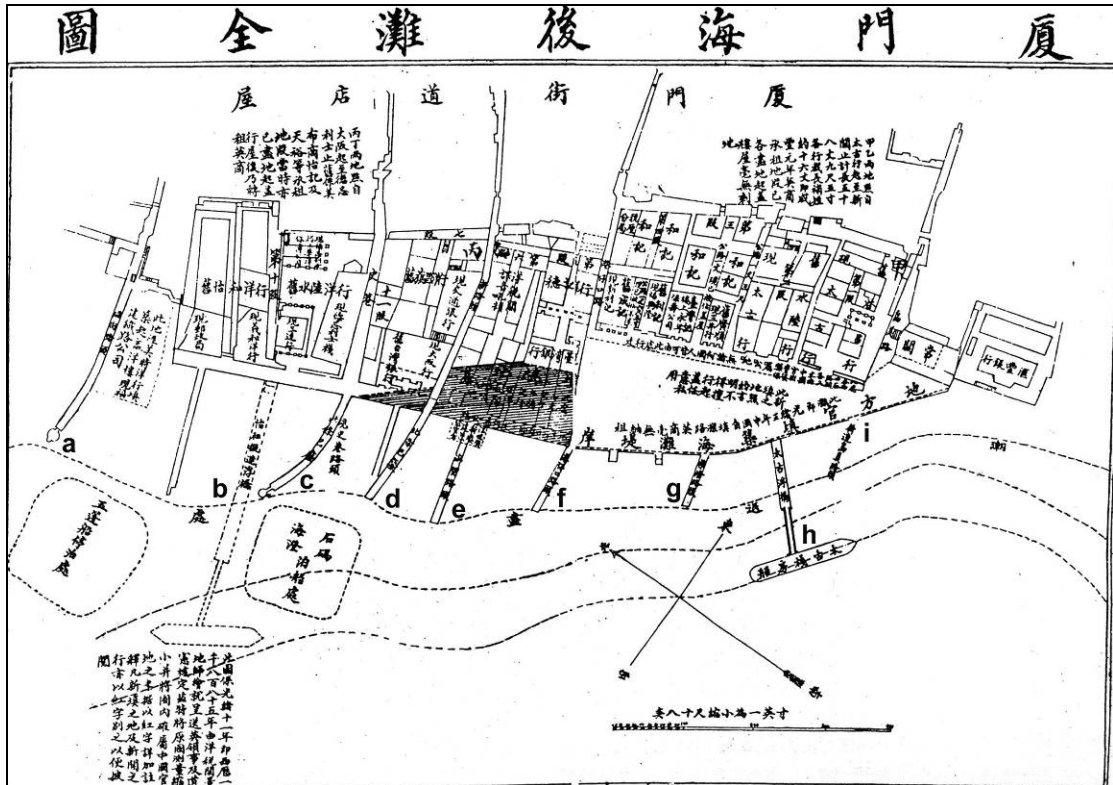
However, this Concession was a pure commercial bund lacking of residential facilities. Since 1860s, the foreigners began to reside on Gulangyu and worked on the British Concession. In fact, as a part of Xiamen, Gulangyu was open to the foreigners once they could rent real estates from local people. Although the British could not obtain Gulangyu as a concession, they could reside on the island according to the treaties.

⁵⁸ Zhao *daotai* 赵道台, Report to the Province Government, 12th moon of the 1st year of Xianfeng Reign (1851), in JDXMSWDASL, 206; Amoy: Lot No.2 China Navigation Co. Ltd. [British Concession Lot No. 2], 1884, PRO, FO678: 31.

⁵⁹ Zhao *daotai* 赵道台, Memorandum to the British Consul at Xiamen, 20th day 12th moon of the 1st year of Xianfeng Reign (1851), in JDXMSWDASL, 194-5.

⁶⁰ Amoy: Lot No.7 Chang Leang Mong [British Concession Lot No. 7], 1928, PRO, FO678:25; Amoy: Lot No.10 Lewis, T.H. [British Concession Lot No. 10], 1901, PRO, FO678:76; Amoy: Lot No.11 Chan Leang Mong [British Concession Lot No. 11], 1928, PRO, FO678:24.

⁶¹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 813-4.



Map 2.1 Map of the Beach Ground 廈門海後灘全圖, 1885. (Source: Qin Huizhong 秦惠中 and Cai Mokai 蔡模楷, comps., *Jindai Xiamen Shehui Jingji Gaikuang 近代廈門社会经济概况* [Social and Economic Situation of Modern Xiamen], Xiamen: Lujiang Press, 1990)

a. Cijie Wharf; b. Proposed Hulk and Flying Bridge of Jardine, Matheson & Co.; c. Shixiang Wharf (Disused); d. Xin Wharf (Disused); e. Customs Jetty; f. Gangzaikou Wharf; g. Caiqiao Wharf 柴桥路头; h. Hulk with Flying Bridge of Butterfield and Swire's Co.; i. Daomei Wharf (Reconstructed).

2.5 The Aborted Japanese Concession

The Chinese defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895 once again changed the international power relationship of modern China. According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki 马关条约 signed in 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. Soon, the Japanese covetously eyed Xiamen – the gateway to the Mainland. In 1897, they rapaciously claimed two settlements in Xiamen amounting to 220,000 *ping* 坪 (about

1.3 ha.) – one on Xiamen and the other on Gulangyu.⁶² This action raised extensive attention of the Qing Court, as well as local people and foreigners in Xiamen.

Although the weak central government could not oppose to the Japanese claim, they realized that any further yielding to Japan would lead to uncontrollable expansion of Japanese power in China. Hence, local authorities were required to handle this issue carefully.

First of all, they used conflicts among the colonial powers to restrain the Japanese. Since the foreigners had lived on Gulangyu for decades, the Japanese request of one third of Gulangyu as their concession no doubt damaged the interest of other foreign forces. Forced by the foreign community, the Japanese had to discard this plan.⁶³

In addition, local authorities linked territorial sovereignty with the interests of local people and emphasized the necessity of respecting indigenous custom. A Chinese correspondence of 1898 stated that “different from Tianjin, Shanghai and Hankou, Xiamen was a small city where foreign companies freely rented land and mingled with the Chinese. Hence, there was no specified concession for any foreign

⁶² Instruction from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, 29th day 2nd moon of the 23rd year of Guangxu Reign (1897), in JDXMSWDASL, 240-1; Letter from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, 1st day 3rd moon of the 23rd year of Guangxu Reign (1897), in JDXMSWDASL, 241-2.

⁶³ Letter from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, 1st day 3rd moon of the 23rd year of Guangxu Reign (1897), in JDXMSWDASL, 241; Memorandums between the *daotai* and the Japanese Consul, as well as the American Consul, from 17th day 12nd moon of the 24th year of Guangxu Reign to 13th day 3rd moon of the 24th year of Guangxu Reign (1899), in JDXMSWDASL, 247-50; Yu Feng 余丰, Zhang Zhenshi 张镇世, and Zeng Shiqin 曾世钦, “*Gulangyu lunwei gongong zujie de jingguo* 鼓浪屿沦为公共租界的经过 [The process of turning Gulangyu into an international settlement],” in JDXMSWDASL, 278-9.

country.”⁶⁴ The Chinese officials denied the Japanese request of the land between Huozaian 火仔垵 and Shapotou 沙坡头, because it was already a densely populated area with numerous houses and shops. As for the land near Hutou Hill 虎头山 [Hill of Tiger Head], they pointed out that the area had thousands of tombs. They concluded that “there was no space in Xiamen left for any concession.” Moreover, Da Island 大屿 [Big Island] and Sheng Island 生屿 [Live Island] belonged to Zhangzhou 漳州 and were not within the jurisdiction of Xiamen. At the end, the Chinese officials offered two sites for the Japanese consideration – one at Shapowei 沙坡尾 and the other at Hai'an 海岸.⁶⁵ (See Map 1.4)

Another letter to the Japanese Consul also highlighted that “the Japanese claiming for these sites violated the international laws and their behavior was unreasonable, inhumane and stupid.” In the letter, the *daotai* said that,

*I will try my best to observe the treaty and provide possible land to fix your need. However, we must consider local situation and indigenous custom. Since your country intends to do business here, you must adapt to local tradition. It would facilitate your trade.*⁶⁶

Under this condition, the Japanese had to consider local authorities' proposal.

After realizing the site near Shapotou was away from the commercial areas and

⁶⁴ Because there was no treaty for the British Concession in Xiamen, the Republican Government did not regard it as a concession but a foreign settlement. Anonymous, “Shouhui xiamen ying zujie 收回厦门英租界 [The return of the British Concession in Xiamen], in JDXMSWDASL, 202.

⁶⁵ Copy of the Reply from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs to the Japanese Consul, 14th day 4th moon of the 24th year of Guangxu Reign (1898). in JDXMSWDASL, 244.

⁶⁶ Translation mine. Letter by the Japanese Consul, 19th day 3rd moon of the 25th year of Guangxu Reign (1899), in JDXMSWDASL, 251.

needed to be reclaimed, they rejected to take the proposed site.⁶⁷ Making reference to other concessions in China, the *daotai* denounced the Japanese excuses.

*All concessions must be established on empty land, in order to set commercial ground for their Countries. Foreign concessions in Shanghai and Hankou were also built on empty land, which were quickly developed into flourishing towns in twenty years. It is unreasonable to set up a foreign concession in a highly dense place with force. With regard to the Japanese Concessions in Suzhou and Hangzhou, they are not busy areas and far away from the commercial centers too. Our official buildings and temples at Shapotou were also constructed on reclaimed land. You had no reason for complaining about the site. Besides, with Gulangyu in front and the Xiamen Harbor at the back, the ground is spacious and easy for anchoring and lading. It is definitely the best option for you. If you still insist on the site at Hutou Hill and further irritate the public, I could not help you any more.*⁶⁸

However, the Japanese was not convinced by his persuasion and the conflict became more acute with the involvement of local people. That led to the Incident of Hill of Tiger Head 虎头山事件, a patriotic event in the history of Xiamen. The Xiamen Customs reported the incident as follows:

*On the 23rd August [1899] the Chinese and Japanese authorities, having decided to mark out the boundaries of the new Japanese Concession at Tiger Head, were prevented from carrying this work into effect by a mob, composed chiefly of old women, who destroyed the boundary flags, and molested, not only the Chinese deputies, but the secretary and constable of the Japanese Consulate.*⁶⁹

According to the Chinese report, innocent inhabitants thought that they would lose their properties once the Japanese concession was set up. Thus, they indignantly

⁶⁷ Ibid., 254.

⁶⁸ Translation mine. Ibid., 255.

⁶⁹ Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 121.

gathered to stop the Japanese survey. Finally, the Japanese officials had to flee to their ship and were assaulted with stone by the angry natives. Subsequently, shopkeepers carried out a strike that continued to the following day. In the words of Fang Zuyin 方祖荫, the Sub-Prefect then, “the public were much concerned about this issue.”⁷⁰

The public outrage and the subsequent unstable social situation forced other foreign powers to intervene again.⁷¹ As a result, the Japanese request for a concession in Xiamen was shelved. Although an agreement about the Japanese Concession in Xiamen was finally signed in September of 1899, no construction had taken place.⁷² While it is hard to conclude the abandonment of the Japanese concession as a direct result of the public protest, it is credible to believe that the colonial powers could not ignore local forces. The new power relationship in Xiamen led to the genesis of Gulangyu International Settlement.

2.6 Genesis of Gulangyu International Settlement

The opposition of foreign powers to the Japanese demand of Gulangyu highlighted that the island was important to the international community in Xiamen, because most of them resided on Gulangyu since 1860s. In their minds, Gulangyu had

⁷⁰ Fang Zuyin 方祖荫, Report, 18th day 7th moon of the 25th year of Guangxu Reign (1899), in JDXMSWDASL, 261-2.

⁷¹ Letter by the Japanese Consul, 1st day 4th moon of the 25th year of Guangxu Reign (1899), in JDXMSWDASL, 254.

⁷² Report from Siming Prefecture Government to Fujian Province Government, 1 July 1930, in JDXMSWDASL, 266.

already been the de facto international settlement. The Japanese ambition resulting in unstable social situation had given further impetus to the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement.

According to Pitcher, a “scheme for the better management of the Municipal Affairs of the island of Kolongsu [Gulangyu]” was proposed and referred to Beijing for ratification in the summer of 1897. It was rejected. However, this plan was ratified after two significant incidents in 1900 – “the Boxers Trouble” and “the Japanese Scare.”⁷³ The latter is also referred to as the Incident of *dongbenyuan* Temple 东本愿寺事件. Armed Japanese soldiers landed on Gulangyu on 24th August of 1900 after the said Japanese Buddhist Temple on Xiamen was burnt down at 2 a.m. that morning. Forced by British troops, they had to withdraw on 9th September.⁷⁴ This incident alarmed not just the Chinese, but also the international community. “Nearly everybody in South China at that time will recall the incident attending the burning of the (Japanese) Buddhist temple in Amoy.”⁷⁵

With the Qing’s decline, foreign forces was progressively involved in local affairs depending on their personal relationship with the Chinese officials. For example, the American Consul, A. B. Johnson once raised funds for local authorities to appease Chinese soldiers, who had not received their stipends for a long time and were

⁷³ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 262.

⁷⁴ Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 122-3.

⁷⁵ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 263.

preparing for a mutiny. Thus, he “received the grateful and spontaneous acknowledgement of the Chinese government.” In the spring of 1901, Johnson suggested setting up an international settlement on Gulangyu in order to prevent it from being coveted by the Japanese. This proposal was appreciated by the General-Governor Xu Yingkui 许应骙. In Pitcher’s words, this “was undoubtedly due to, and in a large measure in recognition of his success in appeasing the rebellious troops in the Amoy forts.”⁷⁶

The process of preparing for the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement went smoothly until conflict arose regarding the details of the Regulations on October 14, 1901. The British Consul requested the Qing Government to give up rights on Gulangyu after it became an international settlement. It was out of Xu’s expectation, who had to restate the position of local authorities as following.

*Whether Gulangyu will be named as an international settlement or a concession is not important for us. But, it is necessary to add that the Clause No. 15 of “Xiamen should be protected [by the international community] too.” Foreign officials and merchants could settle in this public settlement. As an important trade center for the Chinese and foreign companies, Xiamen should be protected by the united power of China and foreign countries, in order to stop the Japanese coveting. If the Regulations are exclusive of this Clause, we have to terminate this issue.*⁷⁷

It is not difficult to understand that local authorities intended to make use of foreign powers against Japanese transgression. Before comprehending the difference

⁷⁶ Ibid., 263-4.

⁷⁷ Translation mine. Yu, Zhang and Zeng, “Gulangyu lunwei gonggong zujie de jingguo,” 280-1.

of the Clause No. 15 in the Chinese and English versions, the draft of the Regulations had been signed on 10th January 1902 by local authorities and seven foreign consuls on behalf of ten foreign forces. They were sent to the Central Government and the Diplomatic Body in Beijing for sanction. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing found the mistake and criticized Xu for “inviting” foreign powers to intervene in internal affairs of China.⁷⁸ Eventually, the Clause No. 15 was deleted and the Regulations were approved on 21st November, 1902. Gulangyu Municipal Council was established on the first of May in 1903. Since then, an unprecedented administration system was introduced to this tiny island and affected its urban development.

In his memorandum dated with 3rd March, 1902, Xu stated his ideas of how the establishment of the Gulangyu International Settlement would benefit local people as follows.

*Although the foreign consuls could not be fair in dealing with civil issues due to their own interest, we can appoint a Chinese as a director in the Council Board. And the Regulations and Bye-laws should be approved by all members. Therefore, the international settlement would be managed in suitable ways. Moreover, Xiamen would benefit from the international protection. Meanwhile, we would not lose sovereignty.*⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Ibid., 283.

⁷⁹ Translation mine. Ibid., 282.

Summary

The discussion of Gulangyu in Sino-Foreign interaction in Xiamen not only showed the changing power status between the Qing and the colonial powers, but also highlighted the importance of Gulangyu in Xiamen. Before the War, foreign trade was strictly controlled by local authorities, and foreigners were allowed to stay within factories or to lease houses in Xiamen upon certain conditions. Gulangyu was found to be an ideal place to isolate “dangerous” outsiders and anchor leaky ships. However, after the War, the Qing Court gradually lost control of foreign issues. Due to complicated local context, the Chinese officials could still constrained foreigners’ activities. With the Qing’s decline, local officials played an ever-important roles in negotiating with the foreign powers. Thus, their knowledge, personal relationship with foreigners, and understanding of local traditions largely influenced foreign affairs. This situation was typical in Xiamen with her particular bureaucratic system and indigenous custom. The processes of establishing the British and the Japanese Concessions in Xiamen clearly show that local authorities made used of local forces and conflicts among the foreign powers to constrain their growth.

After the British four-year occupation, Gulangyu did not become a British Concession. However, the foreigners had resided on the island and formed an international community without national boundaries since 1860s. Meanwhile, the foreign forces in Xiamen had a balance of power players that was temporarily broken

by the Japanese after the First Sino-Japanese War. Under these circumstances, Gulangyu International Settlement was initiated by the foreign Consuls in Xiamen and was approved by the Chinese Government in 1902. A new power relationship took shape in Xiamen in the beginning of the twentieth century. A unique administration system was introduced to Gulangyu in 1903.

Chapter 3 Urban Formation before 1903

3.1 Chinese on Gulangyu

Distribution of the Villages

Local scholars think of Gulangyu before the First Opium War as “an island with a few inhabitants and some simple houses for the fishers.”¹ However, the British records of 1840s showed that Gulangyu had been “a favourite place of residence with the wealthy families of Amoy” before being taken by the British troops.² Moreover, there were “many houses upon the island, and the population may be estimated at between 3000 and 4000.”³ Another British officer also reported that there were five villages on Gulangyu and two of them were preserved by large trees. In their words, “the guava flourishing in the gardens and the vine training over trellis was occasionally met with.”⁴ In his manuscript of 1872, George Hughes wrote that, Gulangyu was “dotted with the handsome houses of the foreign Merchants, Missionaries and Officials.” And it “contained four Chinese hamlets with an increasing population of probably 4,000 or 5,000 souls.”⁵ The picture of Abeel and Cumming’s house in 1842 visualized the early situation of Chinese villages on this tiny island. (Fig. 3.1)

¹ He Qing 何勃 and Mei Qing 梅青, “Xiamen jindai jianzhu gaishuo 厦门近代建筑概说 [A Brief Introduction of Modern Architecture in Xiamen],” in *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu zonglan: xiamen pian*, eds. Guo, Zhang, Muramatsu, and Itoh, 2.

² Power, *Three Years’ Residence in China*, 129.

³ Collinson, “Survey of the Harbor of Amoy,” 126.

⁴ Cour, Letter to the editor of the Calcutta Courier, 155.

⁵ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 47.

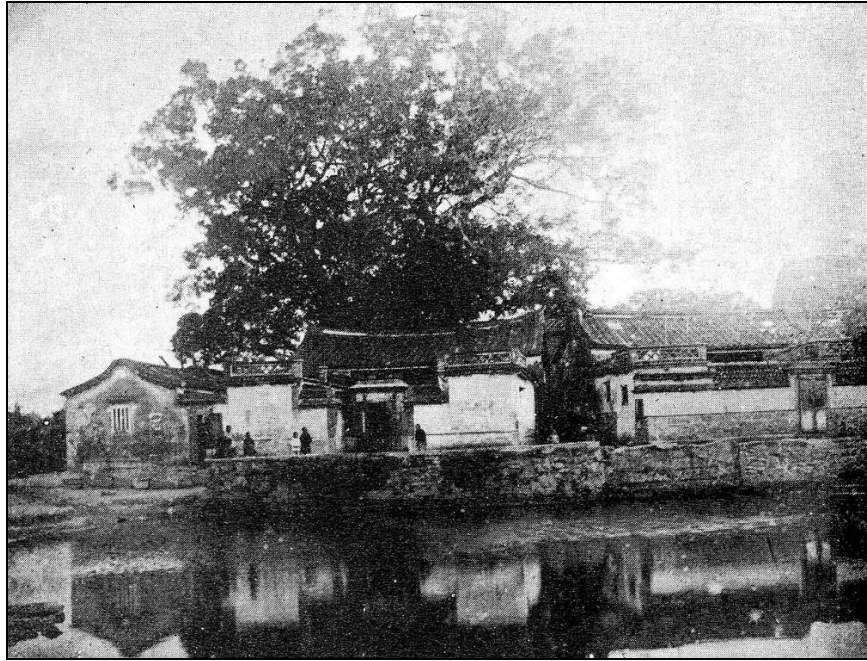


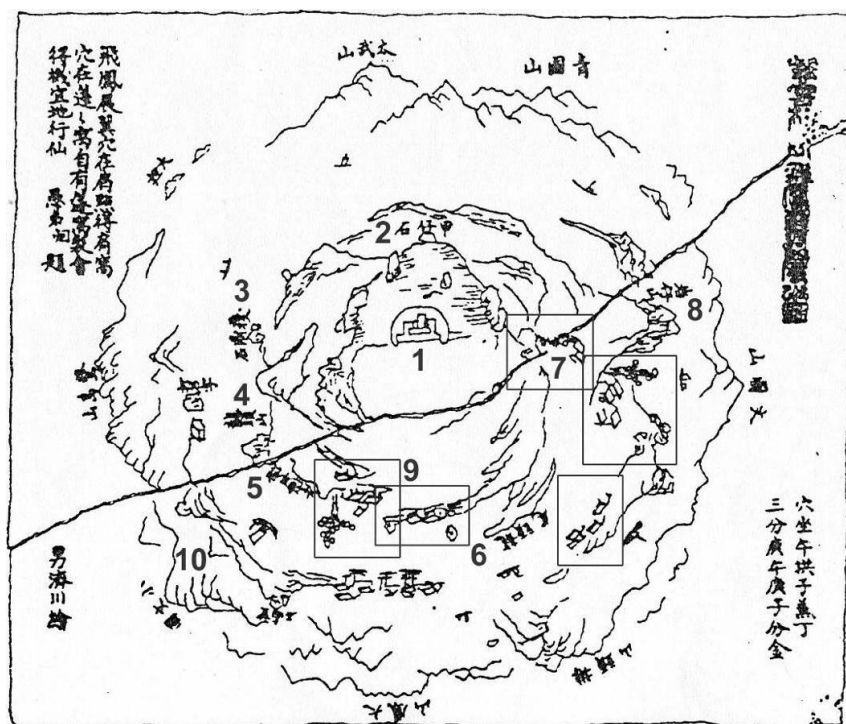
Figure 3. 1 The House that Rev. David Abeel and Dr. Cummings Occupied. Kulangsu. 1842. (Source: Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, facing p. 199)

Some villages with certain population on Gulangyu were formed before the First Opium War. That is verified by an archeological finding in 1983, when a Qing grave of Huang Family was exhumed at the foot of Jiguan Hill. On one of the three tombstones unearthed was inscribed a map of this burial ground, labeled *Zi Yun* 紫云 *feifeng zhanyi fengshui tu* 紫云□□飞凤展翼风水图 [*Fengshui* Map of Flying Phoenix with Spreading Wings]. It is regarded as the earliest map of Gulangyu so far discovered.⁶

This tomb was constructed by Huang Jichuan 黄济川 for his father Huang Tianzai 黄天栽 who died in 1821. In order to show the good *fengshui* of the grave, Huang Jichuan prepared this map by describing its location and Gulangyu's situation at that

⁶ According to He Bingzhong, the influential and wealthy Huang Family could present a careful and precise description of Gulangyu. He, "Zuizao de Gulangyu ditu."

time. In a traditional Chinese way, he set the tomb at the center of the map and used symbols to indicate hills, water, trees, rocks and houses, etc. Some landmarks were labeled, including Jiazai Rock 甲仔石 [Rock of Fishing Basket], Huding Rock 护鼎石, Longtou Hill, Luerjiaoshe 鹿耳礁社, Longtouwei 龙头尾, Jimu Rock, and Yanzai Hill. With reference to the present topography, this map could be interpreted as following: backing Jiazai Rock and facing a bay, this tomb had an excellent *fengshui*. At the foot of Longtou Hill, Luerjiaoshe was a village close to the Bay; at the other end, there was a village near Longtouwei. Two settlements were respectively set up at the foot of Yanzai Hill and Jimu Rock. And one or two villages were located on the far north of the island. (Map 3.1)



Map 3. 1 Ziyun 紫云 飞凤展翼风水图, 1821. The rectangles show the villages. (Source: He, "Zuizao de Gulangyu ditu")

1. The Tomb; 2. Jiazai Rock; 3. Huding Rock; 4. Longtou Hill; 5. Luerjiaoshe; 6. Longtouwei; 7. Jimu Rock; 8. Yanzai Hill; 9. The Bay; 10. Island of Xiamen

However, local people's life was interrupted by the British troops, and they fled inland and left their properties in ruins. Condemning calamities caused by the battle, Robert Fortune sighed for "the ruined walls, the pretty fish-ponds overgrown with weeds and filled up with rubbish, and the ruinous gardens and houses."⁷ After the British evacuation, the locals "returned in crowds and were delighted to regain possession of their ancient seats." However, "six hundred Chinamen perished of the diseases in the first two months after their return, which had molested the British." Thus, "the island was abandoned by the natives under the impression that the 'Fanquis' had left behind an evil demon to render it uninhabitable."⁸ The helpless people prayed for gods and held rites in order to drive off devils. At that time, "scarcely a day passed without processions of idols."⁹

Eventually, local people "restored their primitive condition." They destroyed and removed buildings and objects, which reminded them of the British occupation. "The barracks, the forts, the flag-staffs and even the frame-work of the windows and verandahs, were all speedily demolished, and the material converted into firewood. The roads were dug up, and the fields had again begun to assume the appearance of cultivation." George Smith described Gulangyu in 1846 as following.

In some parts, little groves of bannian-trees encircle a few houses; and the signs of cultivation are to be seen in the crops of wheat and rice which line the beach on its level parts. There are only two villages on the island, which are prettily situated on the sea-side. Of these, one lies on the shore opposite to Amoy; the other occupies the northern and more picturesque extremity of the island. A series of gardens, with their rich foliage, rise gracefully up the slope of a little hill, till they meet the same odd jumble of

⁷ Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings*, 40-1.

⁸ Power, *Three Years' Residence*, 129.

⁹ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 384.

*chasms and boulder-stones, piled aloft or loosely scattered around; huge masses of rock forming peaks on high, and seeming to vibrate in the air, and to quiver in their nicely-balanced position.*¹⁰

Families and Neighborhoods

The early development of Gulangyu could be further verified by the history of Huang Families as the folk sayings of *Huangshan huanghai* 黄山黄海 or *Hongshan huanghai* 洪山黄海 indicate. It is said that most of hills and shores on Gulangyu were cultivated by Huang Families (It will be further proved in Chapter 6). Generally speaking, there were three large Huang Families on Gulangyu, having different origins, branches, ancestral halls, and family properties, etc.¹¹

Neicuoao Huang 内厝澳黄 was named due to their long-time inhabitantion on Neicuoao. Their ancestor Huang Qingbo 黄清波 (1298~1347) settled down on Gulangyu in Yuan 元 dynasty (1280~1368). This Family became well-known when Huang Gaosheng 黄高生, a member of its seventeenth generation became rich in tea business in Taiwan. Around 1891, he bought a large site facing the sea at the north foot of Bijia Hill and constructed a splendid four-courtyard compound that was known as Jiushijiu jian 九十九间 [Ninety-nine Houses] by local people. Later, he set up Yanggui Hall 仰桂堂 [Hall of Looking up Laurel] as their ancestral hall.

¹⁰ Ibid., 383-4.

¹¹ For detailed discussion of Huang Families on Gulangyu, see Chen Quanzhong 陈全忠, "Huangxing yu Gulangyu de kaifa 黄姓与鼓浪屿的开发 [Huang families and the development of Gulangyu]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 8 (2002):10-26; He Bingzhong, "Huang Jianhua xianshen fangtanlu 黄建华先生访谈录 [An account of the interview with Mr. Huang Jianhua]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 6 (2001): 88-90.

Jinzhai Huang 锦宅黄 came from Jinzhai Village of Tong'an, whose ancestors arrived at Gulangyu during Chenghua 成化 Reign (1455~1487). They built the Great Ancestral Temple of Huang Family 黄氏大宗祠 (also known as Liangui Hall 莲桂堂 [Hall of Lotus and Laurel]) at today's Kangtai Road 康泰路. Subsequently, Lianrui Hall 莲瑞堂 [Hall of Lotus and Luck], Lianmei Hall 莲美堂 [Hall of Lotus and Beauty], and Simei Hall 四美堂 [Hall of Four Virtues] were constructed by their branches. This Family usually congregated on Kangtai Road, Jishan Road 鸡山路 and Neicuoao Road. During Jiaqing 嘉庆 Reign (1796~1820), one of the branches moved to Luerjiao and was named Luerjiao Huang. In the early twentieth century, they established their own ancestral hall – Chuiyu Hall 垂裕堂 [Hall of Felicity] at today's Lujiao Road 鹿礁路.

Shixun Huang 石浚黄 migrated from Shixun of Tong'an to Gulangyu in the early Qing and settled at the foot of Yanzai Hill. Hence, they were called Yanzaijiao Huang 岩仔脚黄 (also known as Caopuzai Huang 草埔仔黄 and Shigu Huang 石鼓黄). It is said that this Family contributed much to Yanzaijiao's development. And they built two ancestral halls there – one at Shufang 竖坊 and the Huangshi xiaozong 黄氏小宗 [Small Branch of Huang Family] at today's Shichang Road 市场路. The most influential figure of this Family is Huang Xuzhai 黄勗斋. He arrived at Gulangyu in 1796 and constructed *dafudi* 大夫第 [Residence for Scholars] and *siluo dacuo* 四落大厝 [Big House with Four Courtyards] at the junction of today's Haitan Road 海坛

路 and Zhonghua Road 中华路.¹² He further founded an ancestral hall - Jingxian Hall 景贤堂 [Hall of Repecting Wisdom], and owned the beach at *wudaijiao* 乌垵角 as a private dock.

The history of Huang Families partly demonstrates the existence of two distinguished settlements on Gulangyu. That verifies George Smith's description, and also matches Zhou Kai's record of two neighborhoods (Neicuoao and Yanzaijiao) on this island. Geographically speaking, these two waterfront areas were accessible in early days. (Map 3.2) Huang Families' growth further indicates that traditional Chinese social norms and family structure had taken shape on Gulangyu long time before the First Opium War. The locals had congregated around the ancestral halls for generations and owned properties on Gulangyu.

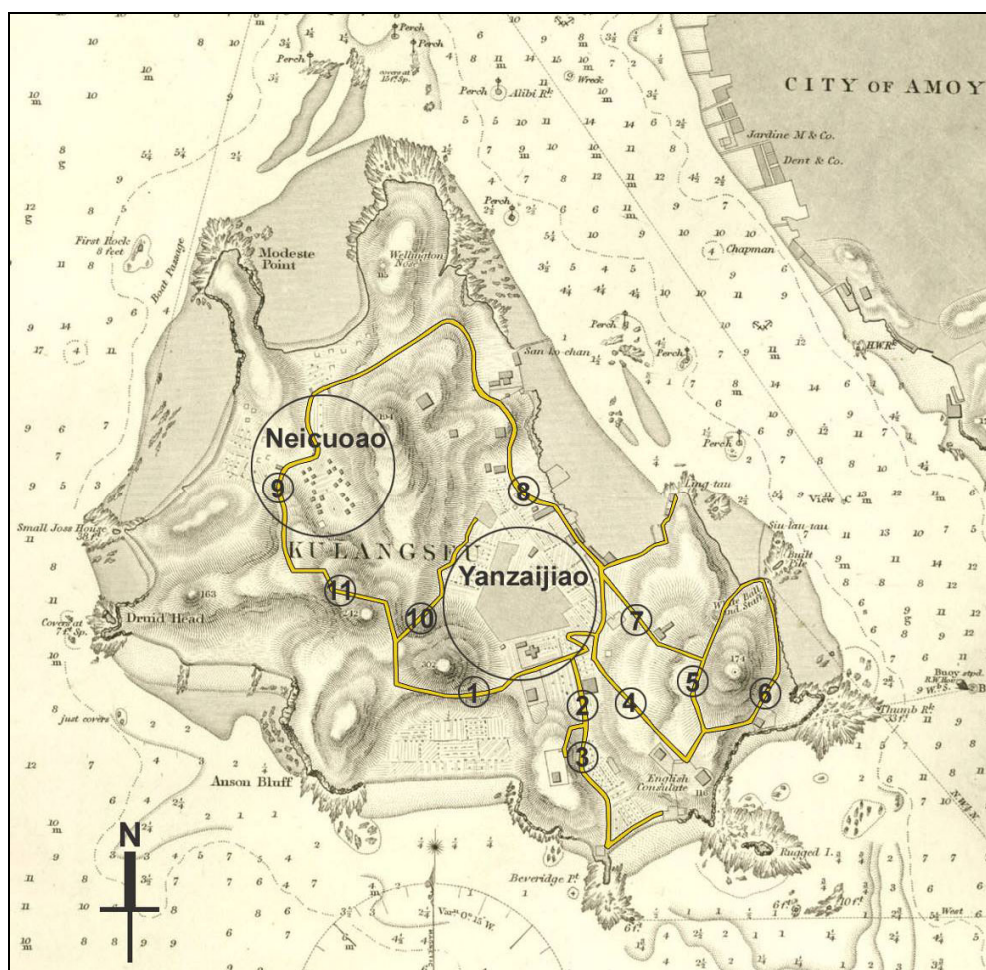
Urban Significance of Temples

There were two common temples (Temple of Riguangyan 日光岩寺 and Temple of Ruiguang 瑞光庵) and two neighborhood temples (Xingxiangong and Zhongdegong) on Gulangyu. Due to local people's religious belief, these temples had great effect on their surroundings, and also led to preservation of the original urban structure.

The history of the Temple of Riguangyan (also known as Lianhua'an 莲花庵 [Temple of Lotus]) could be traced back to 1586. It had been frequently renovated

¹² This area was known as *caopuzai* 草埔仔 in early days.

and expanded owing to its growing fame in Xiamen.¹³ (Fig. 3.2) On the eastern hillside of Yanzai Hill, this temple was linked with the eastern bay by many roads that went through village at Yanzaijiao. This urban characteristic was illustrated in 1766 and is easily identified in today's landscape. (Fig. 3.3) (Map 3.3)



Map 3.2 Map of Gulangyu, 1863. Detail of the Map of China East Coast: Amoy Inner Harbour, surveyed by Edward Wilds, assisted by Henry R. Harris and George Stanley in 1863, published at the Admiralty 14th Sept. 1864. It shows the distribution of the neighborhoods and the urban structure of Gulangyu. (Source: the British Library)

1. Huangyan Road 晃岩路; 2. Zhonghua Road; 3. Tianwei Road; 4 & 6. Zhangzhou Road 漳州路; 5. Fuxing Road 复兴路; 7. Longtou Street; 8. Guxin Road 鼓新路; 9. Neicuoao Road; 10. Anhai Road 安海路; 11. Jishan Road.

¹³ Chen Quanzhong, "Riguangyansi shilue 日光岩寺史略 [A Brief History of the Temple of Riguangyan]," in GLYWSZL, vol.2 (1997):152-3.

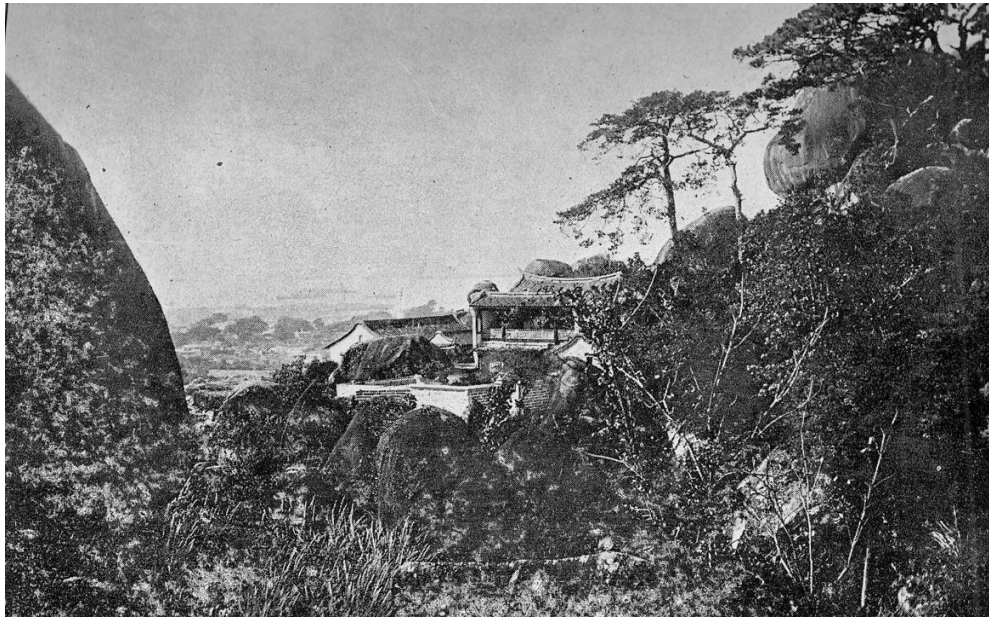


Figure 3.2 Temple of Riguangyan, 1929. (Source: Chen Wentao 陈文涛 comp., *Fujianjindai minsheng dilizhi* 福建近代民生地理志 [Record of people's livelihood and geography of modern Fujian], Fuzhou: Yuandong yinshuju 福州远东印书局, 1929)

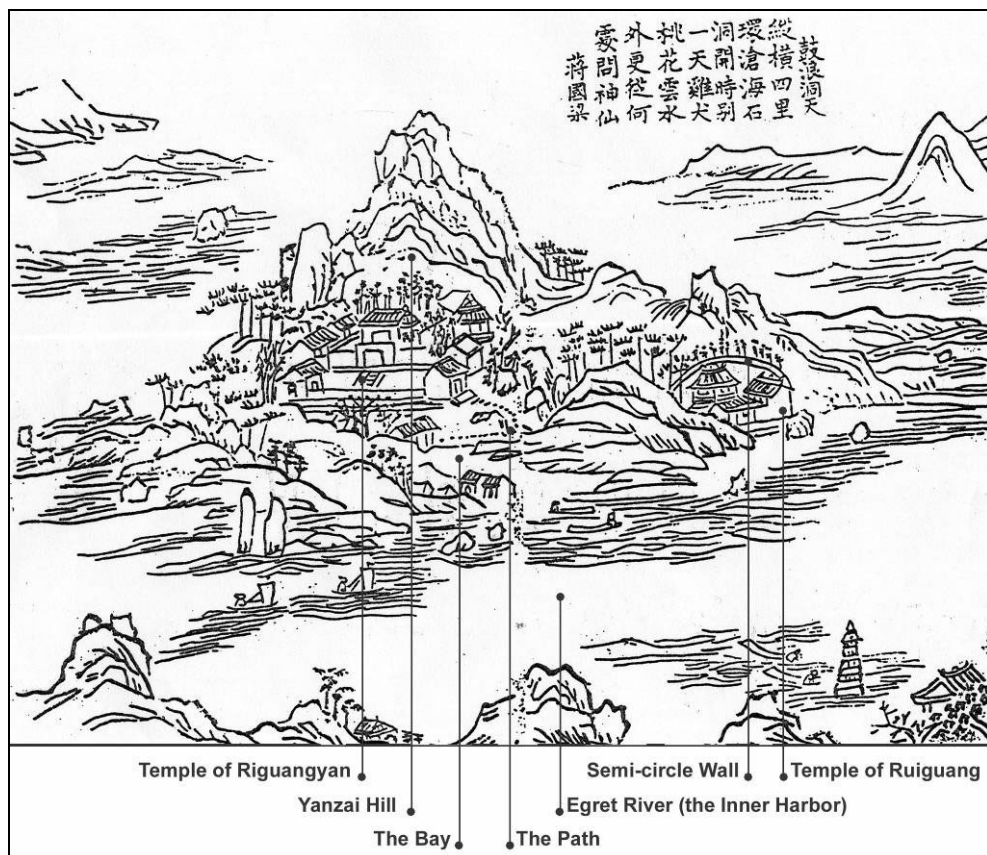
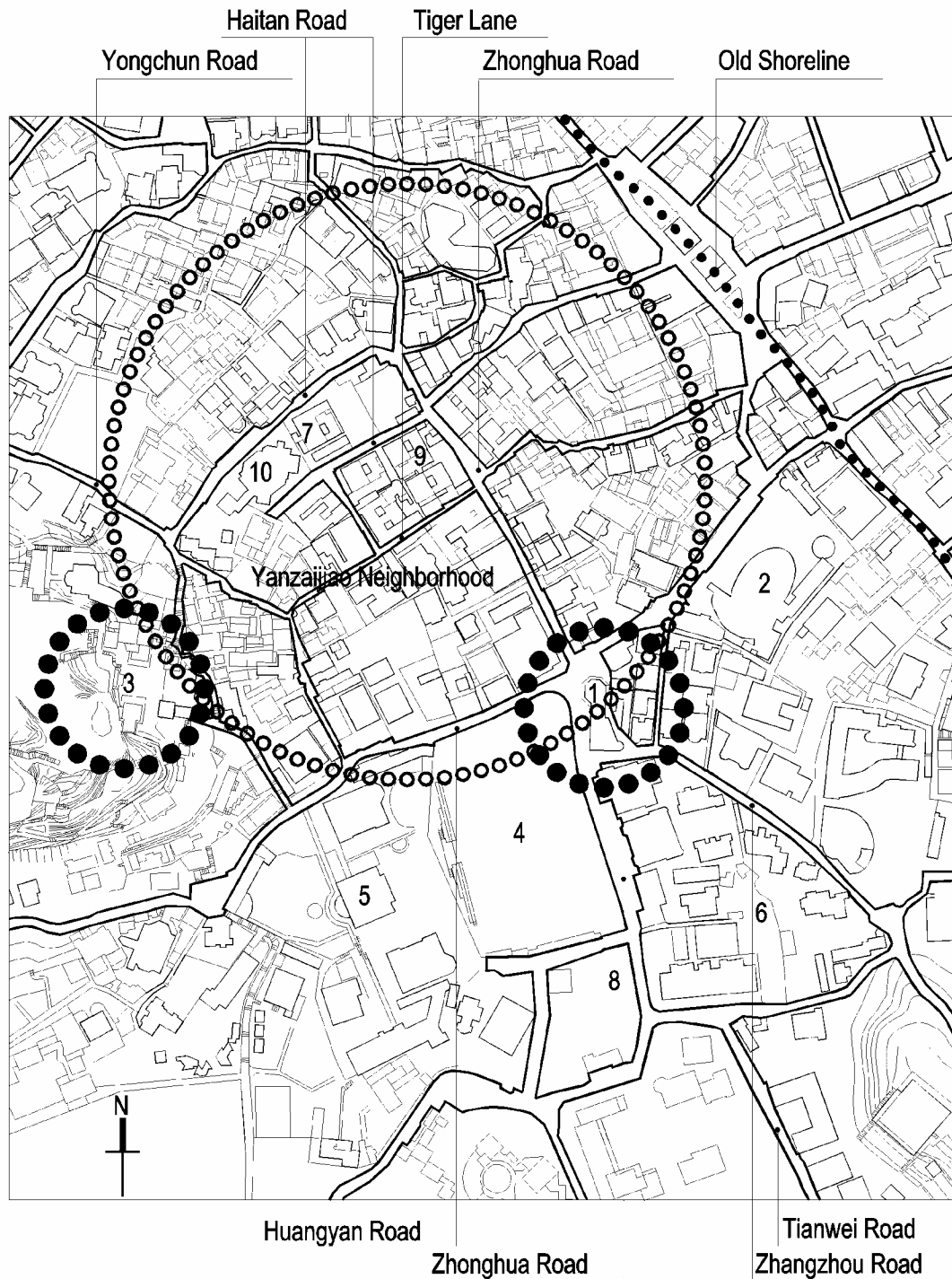


Figure 3.3 *Gulang dongtian* 鼓浪洞天 [Scenery of the Island of Drum and Wave], 1766. (Source: Xue, Gazetteer of Egret River)



Map 3.3 Xingxiangong and its Surrounding in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.

1. Xingxiangong; 2. Foreign Cemetery; 3. Temple of Riguangyan; 4. Recreation Ground; 5. Residence for Manager of the Tait & Co. (later Garden of Huang Family 黄家园); 6. Properties of the Xiamen Customs; 7. *Dafudi*; 8. Masonic Lodges; 9. *Siluo dacuo*; 10. *Zhulin jingshe* 竹林精舍 of Huang Family (later Puyu Primary School 普育小学).

Temple of Ruiguang was the main holy place dedicated to Mazu in Xiamen. It had been expanded by Master Ruiguang 瑞光法师 during Kangxi Reign (1662~1722),¹⁴ and was further renovated from 1809 to 1813.¹⁵ Although the temple was devastated at the end of the nineteenth century, its influence on the surrounding could be discerned today. As the Gazetteer of Xiamen said, this waterfront temple was easily approached by boats.¹⁶ The semi-circle wall in *Gulang dongtian* was photographed by George Price and has been remained till now. Price also wrote that, “the passing wayfarer looks in vain for the Palace of Harmonies, for on the ground consecrated to the Goddess of the Sea now stands a foreign dwelling.”¹⁷ (Fig. 3.4)



Figure 3.4 Anathema Cottage Clings to the very Edge of a Blasted Boulder, ca. 1893. It shows the semi-circle wall around the former site of the Temple of Ruiguang. (Source: Price, *Ku-lang-su*, plate 4)

¹⁴ Temple of Ruiguang was also called Sanhegong 三和宫 and Fahaiyuan 法海院. Chen Quanzhong, “Fahaiyuan, Xingxiangong, Zhongdegong 法海院、兴贤宫、种德宫,” in GLYWSZL, vol. 3 (1998):125-6; Huang Riji 黄日纪, “Jiahe mingsheng ji 嘉禾名胜记 [Record of senaries in Xiamen],” in LJZ, 47-8.

¹⁵ Wang Delu 王得禄, “Chongxing Gulangyu sanhegong ji 重兴鼓浪屿三和宫记 [Record of Reconstruction of the Palace of the Three Hamonies on Gulangyu],” 1813.

¹⁶ XMZ, 42.

¹⁷ Price, *Ku-lang-su*, plate 4.

Xingxiangong was the neighbourhood temple for Yanzaijiao and had been maintained till it was demolished in 1986.¹⁸ It was also called Dagong 大宫 [Big Temple], worshipping Guandi and Baosheng dadi. This temple was flourishing in the Municipal Period. According to John Thomson, “during the prevalence of the plague in Amoy in June, 1907, the inhabitants proceeded to Kulang-su Island [Gulangyu], and secured the idol of Shing Hsien Kung [Xingxiangong].”¹⁹ Jessie Johnston also described that this “picturesque temple was capped with red and green glazed tiles and had a front open ground.”²⁰ (Fig. 3.5)

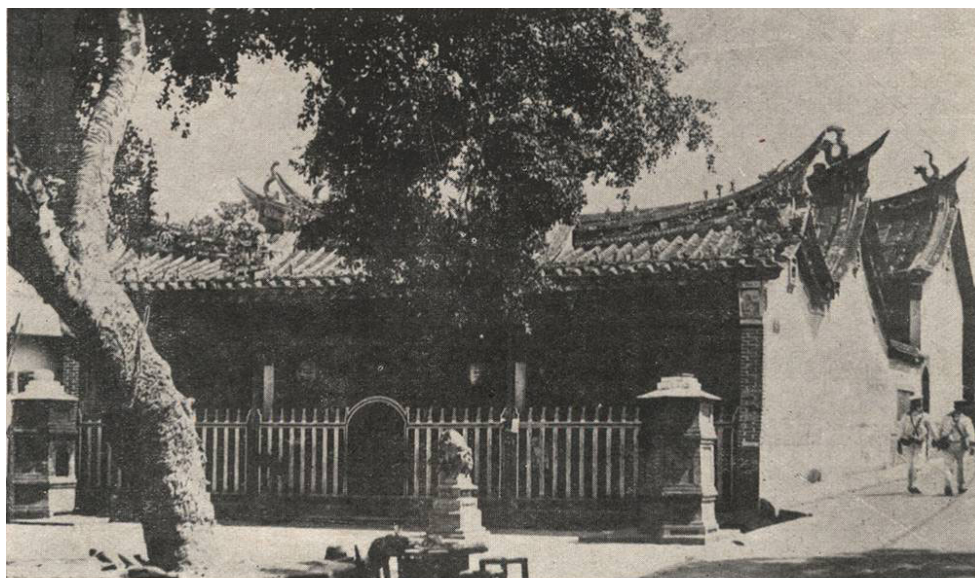


Figure 3.5 Xingxiangong, 1935. (Source: Lin Mengqing 林孟青, Li Muben 李木本, Lu Lide 吕理德, and Fu Ziguó 傅梓国, *Xiamen shying daguan* 厦门摄影大观 [Album of Xiamen], Xiamen: Nanxin yinshuaju 厦门南新印刷局, 1935)

Operated by the neighbors, the neighbourhood temple was also a spiritual center of the community - the public assembled and performed folk opera in its front, and

¹⁸ Chen, “Fahaiyuan, Xingjiangong, Zhongdegong,” 127-8; Jiang, “Gulangyu caifanglu (zhaiyao),” 164.

¹⁹ John Stuart Thomson, *The Chinese* (London: T. Werner Laurie, n.d.), 328-329.

²⁰ Jessie Johnston was a female missionary stationing in Xiamen from 1885 to 1904. Meta Johnston and Lena Johnston, *Jin Ko-Niu: A Brief Sketch of the Life of Jessie M. Johnston for Eighteen Years W. M. A. Missionary in Amoy, China* (London: T. French Downie, 1907), 190-2.

annual processions started there.²¹ The folk names of its surrounding quarters also remind us of this temple's influence, such as Dagongqian 大宫前 [Place in front of the Temple] and Dagonghou 大宫后 [Place behind the Temple]. And the temple became the spatial core where the Neighbourhood of Yanzaijiao, properties of the Xiamen Customs; foreigners' Recreation Ground and the Foreign Cemetery were located. And many arteries pass through the temple, including Zhonghua Road, Huangyan Road, and Zhangzhou Road. (See Map 3.3)

Zhongdegong (also known as Temple of Dadaogong 大道公庵) was the oldest neighbourhood temple on Gulangyu.²² Local historians think that the original Zhongdegong was built by Huang Families on the west bank of Jiu'an River to worship Baoshendadi. The excavation of Huang Zhenshan's grave 黄振山 verified this assumption. The unearthed epitaph states that Huang Family had lived on Gulangyu for generations and selected a good site in front of Zhongdegong as the final place for Huang Zhenshan in 1622. It highlighted that the site had excellent *fengshui* because it was flanked by a rock.²³ According to an old inhabitant's recollection, no one dared to touch a small triangular site in the middle of the old village at Jiu'an River, because it was the holy place of an old temple.²⁴ However, for

²¹ Fan Shouchun 范寿春, "Gulangyu zaonian de guanggaoye 鼓浪屿早年的广告业 [Early advertisement on Gulangyu]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 4 (1999): 141.

²² He, "Huang jianhua laoxiansheng fangtanlu," 89.

²³ Se Mi 瑟弥 [pseud.], "Neicuoao chutu 'Mingchushi zhenshan muzhi,' 内厝澳出土《明处士振山黄公墓志》 [Epitaph of Ming scholar Huang Zhenshan, evacuated at Neicuoao]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 1 (1995):192-3.

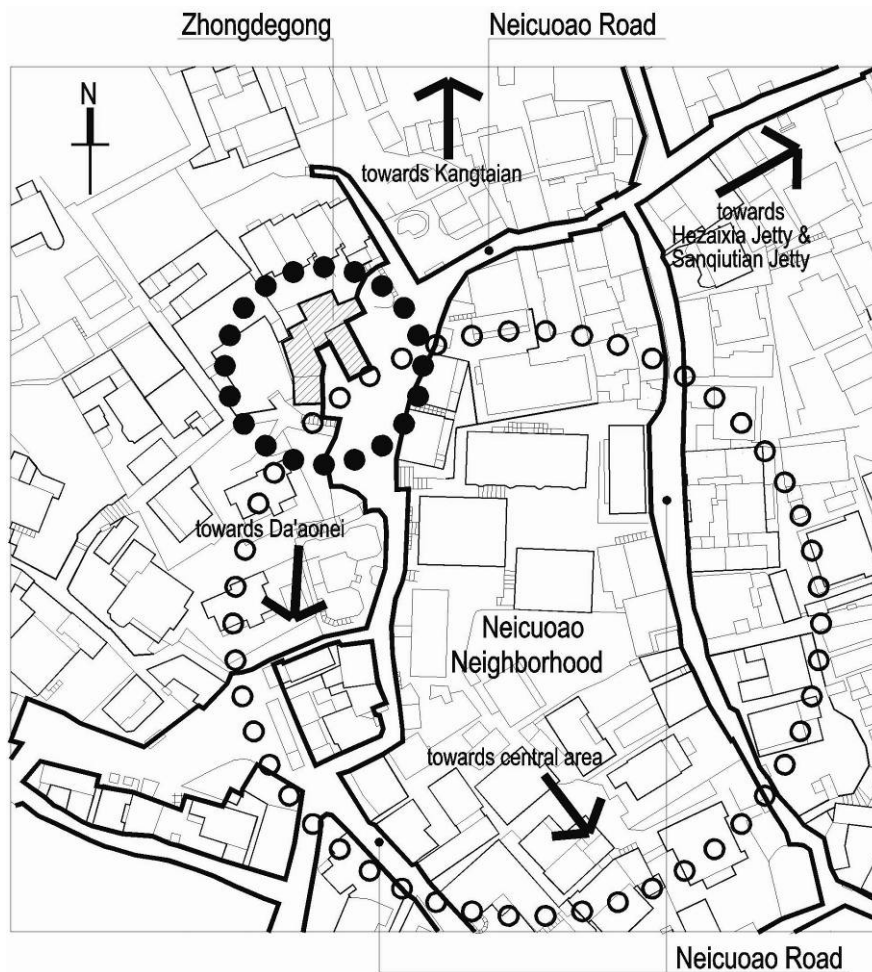
²⁴ Fan, "Gulangyu de fayuandi: jiuanhe," 138.

unknown reason and on unknown date, it was moved to the present site at the southeastern foot of Yuanzaiwei Hill.²⁵

Zhongdegong was also managed by a neighbourhood committee.²⁶ The stone stele of 1923 in the front of the temple shows that a shop on Xiamen was owned by the temple and its rental was collected for daily operation. Similarly, local people were used to call places around the temple Gongqian 宫前 [In Front of the Temple], Gonghou 宫后 [Behind the Temple], Gongding 宫顶 [On the Top of the Temple], and Gongbian 宫边 [Beside the Temple]. This custom mirrors the importance of the neighbourhood temples in people's daily life, and also reflects that the locals had clear spatial ideas of the boundaries of their neighborhoods. The geographical importance of Zhongdegong could be easily discerned. It was located on the artery of the northern Gulangyu, which linked two bays (Da'aonei and Kangtai'an) and two main jetties (Hezaixia Jetty and Sanqiutian Jetty). Starting from the front of Zhongdegong and going southeastwards towards the central area of Gulangyu, two Neicuoao Roads enclosed an area that was one of the oldest settlements on Gulangyu. Some old Chinese houses could be found in this area even today. (Map 3.4)

²⁵ Local experts believe that the name of *Jiuan* River came from this old temple. Chen, "Huangxing yu Gulangyu de kaifa," 10.

²⁶ Chen, "Fahaiyuan, Xingxiangong, Zhongdegong," 130-3.



Map 3. 4 Map of Zhongdegong and its Surrounding.

This study shows that local people had lived on Gulangyu for generations and formed two developed neighbourhoods. As we can see on the Map of Gulangyu in 1863, a basic urban structure had formed in terms of the local's utilization of natural environment. (See Map 3.2) Despite the British four-year occupation, the Chinese regained their properties and restored original environment. Moreover, the old temples had been maintained and had great effect on their surroundings. Being the religious centers, they usually had convenient connection with the villages, bays and jetties, etc. The history of Huang Families also indicates the existence of a traditional family structure on Gulangyu, which allowed people in the same family to congregate

and to support ancestral hall together. Hence, the original urban structure could be preserved even after the foreigners' arrival.

3.2 Foreigners on Gulangyu

Initially, Gulangyu “had no attractions” for the foreigners, because the British troops “were stricken down by the hundred with fever.” However, “about 1860 they began to move over, and have lived there very comfortably ever since in well built houses, situated for the most part on high elevations, with sea views on all sides.”²⁷ In his manuscript of 1886, Cumming already described Gulangyu “attractive,” because “its large luxurious foreign houses were scattered in the most tasteful manner among the great rocks and foliage.”²⁸ Gulangyu in the beginning of the twentieth century became a “pretty island having its buildings coloured as in a southern European town.”²⁹

Before the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement in 1902, most foreigners in Xiamen had resided on Gulangyu and formed an international community without national boundaries. Consular buildings, foreign residence, missionary constructions and public facilities had been constructed and scattered around the island. The study of the distribution and construction process of these buildings presents a picture of how foreigners were involved in the urban development of Gulangyu before the operation of Gulangyu Municipal Council.

²⁷ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 254-6.

²⁸ Cumming, *Wandering in China*, 116-7.

²⁹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 814.

Consular Buildings

The first consulate in Xiamen was established by the British soon after they occupied Gulangyu. In 1865, there were three regular Consuls representing the Great Britain, Spain, and United States, and the other Powers had merchants Consuls only.³⁰ The number of the Consulates was increased to eleven in 1881.³¹ In 1902, seven consuls on behalf of ten foreign countries signed on the Land Regulations for the Settlement.³² There were twelve countries having formal or informal consulates in Xiamen before 1949.³³ Congregating on such a small island like Gulangyu, the colonial powers collaborated to pursue common interests and constrained each other to protect their own profits.³⁴ Hence, consular buildings were the best tool to showcase their ambition and to stabilize their political status in China. The American Consul William Bradley Charles once reported that,

I can of course have no other motive in asking permission this to increase this Consulate than a sincere desire to elevate the dignity and power of the

³⁰ Bowra, "Amoy," 820.

³¹ The foreign consulates in Xiamen included the Great Britain, Spain, United States, Austro-Hungary, Denmark, France, Germany, Netherland, Portugal, Sweden and Norway, and Japan. C. P. Simoes, comp., *The Amoy Diary and Memorandum Book, 1882, containing a summary of past events, and much other information of local interest, also a list of foreign and Chinese officials and foreign residents at Amoy and Kulangsu* (Amoy: A. A. Marcal, 1881), 28.

³² These ten countries were Japan, France, Spain, Denmark, H. I. G. M. (German), H. B. M. (the Great Britain), U. S. (the United States), Netherland, Sweden and Norway.

³³ The Great Britain, United States, Japan, France, German, Philippine, Netherland, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Italy, and Norway had their consulates in Xiamen before 1949. "Jiefangqian waiguo zaixia gezhong jigou 解放前外国在厦各种机构 [Survey of the foreign institutes in Xiamen before the Liberation]," in JDXMSWDASL, 109-110. According to the reports of the Xiamen Customs, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, and Belgium also had their consulates in Xiamen. Decennial Reports (1882-1891), 507; *Xiamen de zujie 厦门的租界* [Concessions in Xiamen], in XMWSZL, vol. 16 (1990), 8-9.

³⁴ The Japanese Consulate was moved from Gulangyu to the Island of Xiamen in 1938 after they occupied Xiamen.

*United States Government in the minds of the native rulers and of the people.*³⁵

Three leading consulates – the Great Britain, United State and Japan – had grand consular buildings. And other foreign countries;s consular buildings were small-scale, such as the French Consulate (1860s) at Tianwei; the German Consulate (1870) at Luerjiao and their Consular Residence at Qizaiwei Hill, and the Spain Consulate (1850s) opposite to the Catholic Church, etc.³⁶

As “the largest and most conspicuous of the foreign communities” in China, the British was the only foreign country “making the effort to provide full consular coverage in open ports.”³⁷ In the beginning, their consular offices were in the garrison on Gulangyu and afterwards in the *daoyeya* on Xiamen. When Rutherford Alcock was assigned as the second British Consul at Xiamen from November 1844 to March 1845, he directed the British evacuation in 1845 and the erection of the first British Consular building on Gulangyu.³⁸ Understanding “the importance of prestige and the value of sanitation,” he “not only obtained a commodious site but had a house built to this own specification during his temporary incumbency of the office.”³⁹ This project was accomplished and provided the residence for the British consuls, who “used the

³⁵ Charles William Bradley, Letter to to Secretary of State, 1 July 1850. in United States Consulate: Amoy, *Despatches from United States Consuls in Amoy, 1844-1906* (Washington: National Archives, Microfilms, 1947.) (hereafter cited as *American Despatches*)

³⁶ *Xiamen de zuijie*, 8-9.

³⁷ J. E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British Embassies in Japan, China and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (London: Curzon Press, 1999), 7-8.

³⁸ Bowra, “Amoy,” 819.

³⁹ Alexander Michie, *The Englishman in China during the Victoria Era: as Illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., D.C.L., Many Years Consul and Minister in China and Japan*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1900), 116-7.

premises on Xiamen for office purposes.”⁴⁰ As the Map of Gulangyu in 1863 shows, it was located on Shichuanding. (See Map 3.2)

In early 1870s, the British Consulate, including an office, court room, constable’s quart and gaols, was “beautifully situated on a high bluff rising from the sandy bays of the outer harbour.” Meyrick Hewlett eulogized its surrounding as following - “on one side of the bluff on which the Consulate stood was a lovely wood thick with firs and presenting a perfect specimen of the glorious Flame of the Forest. Poinsettias abounded, bougainvillea flourished in rich profusion.” At the same time, the grand consular compound on the top of Shichuanding was expanded. With stunning seaview, it consisted of the Consul’s bungalow on the top of the mound, and the senior assistants’ residence along the beach of Tianwei – an “excellent bathing beach.”⁴¹ (Map 3.5)

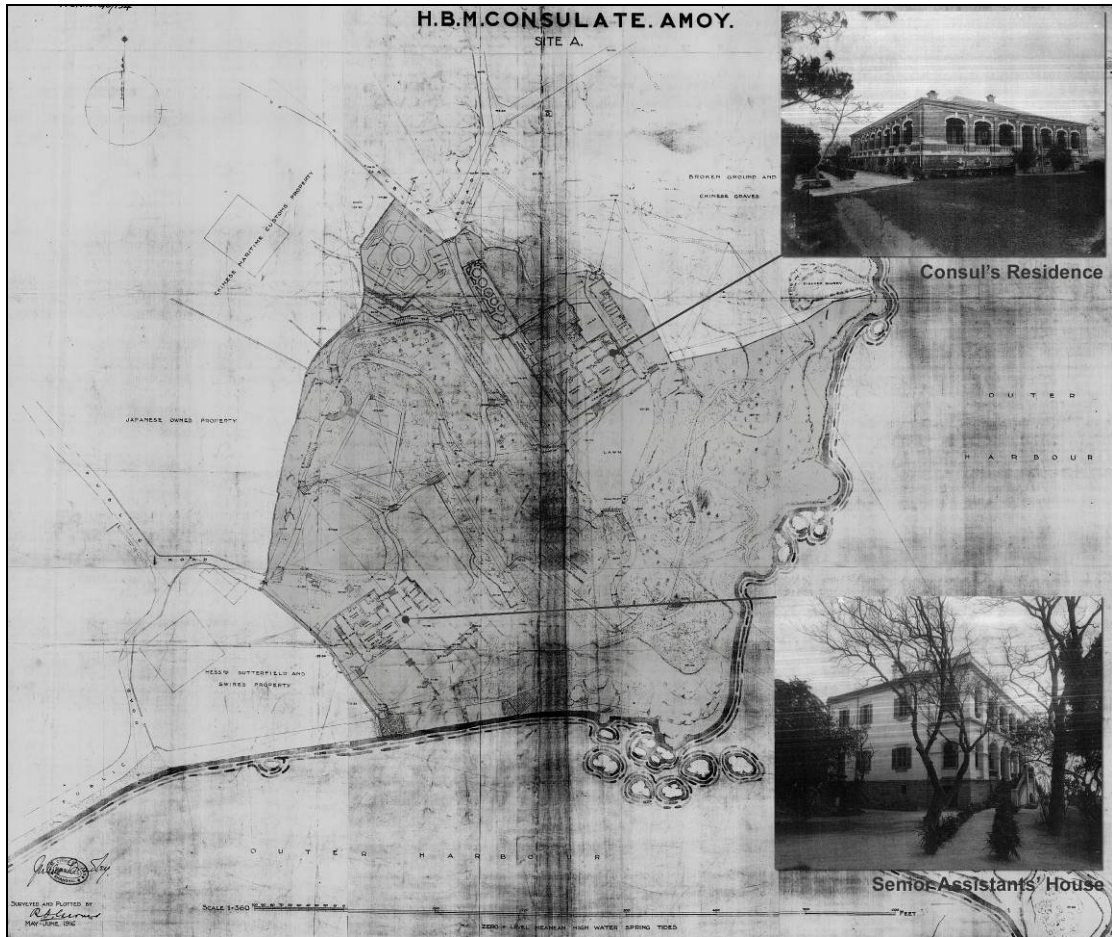
The location of the British Consulate was not satisfied by the British merchants, because they had to “cross over the water every time they have any business with the Consulate.” As they complained, this decision was “for some inscrutable reason best known to the Foreign Office.”⁴² However, the Consulate occupied one of the most convenient and dominant locations on Gulangyu - close to the Longtou Jetty 龙头渡 and at the gateway to the island. Its higher position indeed displayed the British ambition of challenging the Chinese Government and overbearing other colonial

⁴⁰ Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, 62-3; Bowra, “Amoy,” 819.

⁴¹ Meyrick Hewlett was the British Consul in Xiamen from 1923 to 1925. Meyrick Hewlett, *Forty Years in China* (London: Macmillan, 1943), 150-1.

⁴² Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 148.

powers. It is not surprising to see that it became a political core at Luerjiao, around which the Spain, German, and Japanese successively set up their consulates. (Map 3.6)



Map 3.5 H. B. M. Consulate, Amoy, Site A, 1916. It shows the Compound of the British Consul at Shichuanding. (Source: PRO, WORKS40:134)

The earliest Japanese Consulate was set up in 1875.⁴³ After the Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1895, the number of the Japanese subjects and their power in Xiamen increased.⁴⁴ Thus, “it was found necessary to erect a large and substantial Japanese Consulate, and the great increase amongst these nationals caused a demand

⁴³ Decennial Reports (1882-1891), 507; Fang Wentu, “Ribei zhuxia lingshiguan jinchashu dixia jianyu diaocha jilu 日本驻厦领事馆警察署地下监狱调查记录 [Survey record on the underground jail in the police office of the Japanese Consulate at Xiamen],” in XMWSZL, vol. 10 (1986): 10.

⁴⁴ Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 130-1.

for house-room for residents, stores, restaurants, and a club.”⁴⁵ Initiated in 1897 and completed in 1898, the new Japanese Consulate was planned with political and functional considerations.⁴⁶ They selected a site not far away from the British Consulate to challenge the most powerful foreign force in China. And the lot was along the old shore and had a road directly leading towards the Se Lu Tao (the later Singapore Jetty). Hence, the Consulate and nearby Japanese Club occupied a dominant position at Luerjiao, with the Union Church on its west, the Spain Consulate on its northwest, and the German Consulate on its southeast. (See Map 3.6)

According to deeds for the Recreation Ground, the United States had their Consulate on its north in the 1860s.⁴⁷ At that time, the American Consul Charles W. Le Gendre rented many parcels of land on Gulangyu, including the site for the Recreation Ground and that for the Marine Hospital. The latter was “secured by LeGendre in 1871, with the agreement of the Chinese authorities that, if it ever ceased to be used as a Marine Hospital it should revert to the United States Government.” When the hospital was closed in 1893,⁴⁸ the American Consulate was moved there. It was expanded and renovated in the 1930s.

The consulates in semi-colonial China were no doubt endowed with strong political significance. They were used to showcase the power of their countries and to

⁴⁵ Ibid., 145.

⁴⁶ Satoshi Itoh 伊藤聡, “Xiamen riben lingshiguan de jianshe ji Taiwan zongdufu zai xiamen de huodong 厦门日本领事馆的建设及台湾总督府在厦门的活动 [Construction of the Japanese Consulate in Xiamen and the activities of the Taiwan General-Governor Government in Xiamen],” in Guo, Zhang, Muramatsu, and Itoh, eds. *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu zonglang: xiamen pian*, 13.

⁴⁷ Amoy Lot No. 55: Kulangsu Lawn Tennis and Cricket Club, 1899, PRO, FO 678:70.

⁴⁸ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 246-7.

oppose the Chinese intention of degrading the barbarians.⁴⁹ Thus, their sites were carefully selected for this aim and were usually utilized existing transportation system. More importantly, the foreign consulates had almost been completed on Gulangyu at the end of the nineteenth century and the distribution of the colonial powers on Gulangyu had taken shape before 1903.



Map 3.6 H. B. M. Consular Offices, Amoy, Site B, 1916. It shows the distribution of the British, Spanish, German and Japanese Consulates at Luerjiao. (Source: PRO, WORKS40:135)

1. The British Consulate; 2. The Spanish Consulate; 3. The German Consulate; 4. The Japanese Consulate; 5. Lin Tao (Longtou Jetty); 6. Se Lu Tao (Singapore Jetty)

⁴⁹ Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, 45.

Foreign Residence

After the First Opium War, many foreign companies set up their branches in Xiamen, such as Tait & Co., Boyd & Co., Pasedag & Co., Jardine, Matheson & Co., Butterfield & Swire, etc. The British Concession in Xiamen was a pure commercial bund, in which “all the principal business houses and banks were located.” Instead, Gulangyu was “the residential place of all foreigners.”⁵⁰ Macgowan described the foreign merchants’ life in Xiamen in this manner - “with very few exceptions, the foreigners live on Kulangsu, whilst the business houses are all across the harbour in Amoy, the business men crossing over to them in the morning and returning in the afternoon.”⁵¹

As title deeds registered at the British Consulate in Xiamen show, foreigners’ acquisition of land on Gulangyu started at the end of the 1850s and was active in the 1870s and 80s. Being sojourners in this port, they frequently transferred real estates among themselves. After 1895, many Taiwanese with Fujian origin returned back to Xiamen, who settled on Gulangyu and secured many foreign properties there. For example, Banqiao Lin Family 板桥林家 bought a villa from a British captain and developed it into a well-known compound - Linshifu 林氏府. Lin Henian 林鹤年, a patriotic official-scholar obtained a residence not far away from Linshifu, which was known as Yi Garden 怡园. Wufeng Lin Family 雾峰林家, another wealthy Lin Family also initiated their Gongbaodi 宫保第 on Gulangyu in 1895. Overseas Chinese

⁵⁰ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 254-6.

⁵¹ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 148.

obtained a lot of foreign properties in the 1920s, such as Huang Yizhu 黄奕住, Huang Zhongxun 黄忠训, etc.⁵²

Under this condition, the properties of the Xiamen Customs were the best case to show the formation of foreign residence on Gulangyu, because they seldom changed hand after being obtained by the Customs. Founded in 1862, the Chinese Maritime Customs had been regarded as “perhaps the most remarkable organization the world has ever seen, answerable only to the Dragon Throne, but British controlled and internationally staffed.”⁵³ The foreign controlled customs 洋关 was established in Xiamen on 30th March, 1862. And the Native Customs 常关 was also taken over by foreigner in 1901.⁵⁴ Like foreign companies in Xiamen, The Xiamen Customs had offices in the British Concession and many properties on Gulangyu, including Tidesurveyor’s House (Santa Elisabeth), Commissioner’s House and Assistants’ Mess. (Beach House and Fairview), Deputy Commissioner’s House (Hill House), Outdoor Staff Quarters and Customs Club (Sunnyside and Wirrianda), and Foreshore Land.⁵⁵

“Standing like a castle on a high promontory with its magnificent grounds running down to a sea of brilliant blue,”⁵⁶ the Beach House 税务司公馆, 毗吐庐 was the Residence for Commissioner. It was formerly owned by the British Captain M.

⁵² For the detailed discussion of how overseas Chinese obtained foreigners’ properties on Gulangyu, see Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

⁵³ Charles Drage, *Servants of the Dragon Throne: Being the Lives of Edward and Cecil Bowra* (London: Peter Dawnay Ltd., 1966,) Introduction.

⁵⁴ Xiamen Customs, comp. *Xiamen haiguanzhi (1684-1989)* 厦门海关志 (1684-1989) [Gazetteer of Xiamen Customs: 1684-1989] (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科学出版社, 1994), 21 (hereafter cited as *Xiamen haiguanzhi*); Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 225-6.

⁵⁵ Amoy: Lot No. 6 Edwardes, A. H. F. 1927, PRO, FO678:40.

⁵⁶ Drage, *Servants of the Dragon Throne*, 246.

Fitzgibbon, who erected a house on the site in 1860. It was leased to the Customs in 1862 and further transferred to the latter in 1865. The old house was renovated later. A vegetable garden on its east was rented from Hong Family in 1888 and became a part of the compound.⁵⁷ Southeast of it was the Fairview 园窗楼, 总船主住宅, the residence for married assistants. The premises were obtained from the British merchant J. Mcleavy Brown in 1888 and renovated in 1903.⁵⁸

On the northeast part of Tianwei were Hillcrest 副税务司公馆 and Hillside 大帮办楼, residence for Deputy Commissioners. The former was obtained from a British merchant in 1865 and the latter in 1870. However, the houses were respectively renovated in 1923 and 1924.⁵⁹ On the top of the Shengqi Hill, the Customs rented a small lot from Huang Chunyi 黄纯宜 in 1868, where the Signal Station was erected in 1877 and a building was added in 1923.⁶⁰

The triangle site on the south of Xingxiangong was owned by the Xiamen Customs either, which were successively secured from Tait & Co. in 1870, 1879, 1883 and 1884. It was “situated at some ten minutes walk from the jetty where the boats lie for crossing over to Amoy.”⁶¹ An old building on the site was renovated to a Customs Club in 1903. In 1923, Sunnyside 验货员住宅 was constructed to provide

⁵⁷ The area of the lot was 22.303 *mu* 亩, which was bounded on the north by Hong family's property, south by the properties of the Great N. Telegraph Co., east by R. H. Bruce's property and public road, and west by a wall along sea cliff. *Xiamen haiguanzhi*, 363.

⁵⁸ The area of this lot was 5.257 *mu*. Ibid., 364.

⁵⁹ The area of this lot was 12.475 *mu*. It had a public road on its north, the Japanese property on its south, the British Consul's residence on its east and an American Mission property on its west. Ibid., 364.

⁶⁰ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 256; *Xiamen haiguanzhi*, 362..

⁶¹ Anonymous, “The Question of Granting Chair Allowrances to the Assistants at this Port,” 4 August 1903, Archives of Xiamen Customs.

residence for unmarried assistants. On its east was Wirrianda 巡灯司公馆, the residence for the Acting Suspector of Lights. The site was obtained in 1888.⁶²

On the north part of Gulangyu, the Xiamen Customs also had many properties. A lot with 4.751 *mu* was obtained in 1881 to construct godowns. A radio station was built there in 1933.⁶³ They secured another lot of 6.127 *mu* on its south in 1883 and built Sunta Elisabeth in 1914. Zongxun Jetty 总巡码头 was also constructed on the east of these properties to serve staffs of the Customs.⁶⁴

In Cecil Bowra's eyes, his life in Xiamen was "the pleasantest of all his first Far Eastern tour." Even after "the port had declined somewhat since the great days of the China tea trade, the tradition of high living – and, incidentally, of tolerably heavy drinking – still lingered on."⁶⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, "environed with parks and gardens, foreign houses on Gulangyu were second to none in China."⁶⁶ Macgowan also praised Gulangyu in 1897 as follows.

*The beauty of the natural scenery of this island is greatly enhanced by the residences of the foreigners that are scattered over it in very direction. As a rule these are spacious and handsome buildings, and are surrounded by trees and gardens, where flowers of many kinds thrive with the greatest luxuriance and scent the air with their fragrance.*⁶⁷

As George Hughes said, most of the foreigners had their private houses on excellent situations of Gulangyu. Moreover, the houses "had been carefully selected by the residents," which were designed "in every way suitable to the climate built

⁶² *Xiamen haiguanzhi*, 366-8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 363.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁶⁵ Drage, *Servants of the Dragon Throne*, 211.

⁶⁶ Thomson, *Through China with a Camera*, 103.

⁶⁷ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 148.

upon them.” Hence, the foreigners “might live as comfortably here – as far as health is concerned – for eight or ten years, as they could in Europe.”⁶⁸

Besides, foreigners had many service facilities on Gulangyu. For example, the French, German and Japanese had their own post offices there. And the telegraphic service was provided by the Danish Great Northern Telegraphic Company in 1869 and a French company in 1900. Many drug stores sold wines, spirits, tobacco, drugs, and fancy goods, etc.⁶⁹ Western food was supplied by a particular farm,⁷⁰ and the New Amoy Hotel was opened in 1900.⁷¹ In George Hughes’ words, it was the “too high living” that induced diseases of the foreigners rather than the climate.⁷²

In summary, the properties of the Xiamen Customs on Gulangyu had been secured before 1888. Although some of the buildings were renovated or constructed later, the relationship between the lots and their surroundings, especially public roads, was shaped in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although foreign properties were frequently changed hand and were expanded by different owners, the original boundaries of the premises to a great extent were maintained due to the operation of a land exchange system. Moreover, foreigners’ building activities were much more active in the last quarter of the nineteenth century than in the Municipal Period (1903~1937). The Map of Gulangyu published in 1901 by the Xiamen Customs

⁶⁸ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 53-4.

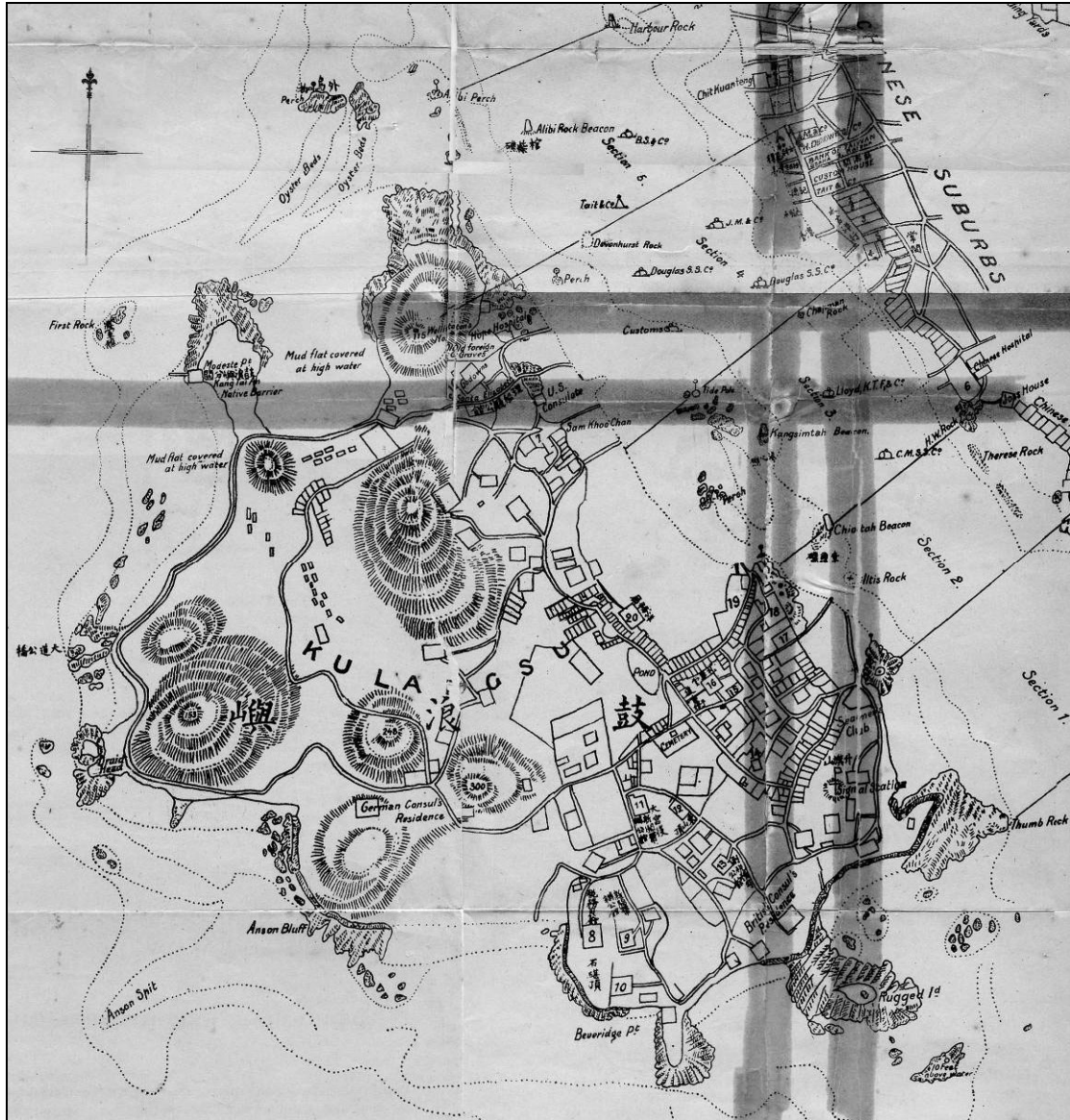
⁶⁹ At that time, Dakin Bros., Central Dispensary, Tong Chong Dispensary, and Fokien Drug Company Ltd. provided these services on Gulangyu at that time. Bowra, “Amoy,” 827-8.

⁷⁰ Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 50.

⁷¹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 828.

⁷² Hughes, *Amoy and Its Surrounding District*, 53-4. The similar point could be found in Chris Elder’s discussion of the foreigners’ life in the treaty ports. See Chris Elder, ed., *China’s Treaty Ports: Half Love and Half Hate* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxiv.

recorded the locations of main foreign constructions at that time, and also presented a developed urban network with clear urban distribution. (Map 3.7)



Map 3.7 Map of Gulangyu, 1892-1901. Detail of the Map of Amoy. (Source: Decennial Reports: 1892-1901)

1~6 (foreign companies and the Chinese Customs House on Xiamen, omitted); 7. Pasedag & Co.; 8. Commissioner's House; 9. Fairview House; 10. G. N. Telegraph; 11. Sunny Side; 12. Wirreanda; 13. Hill Side; 14. Amoy Club; 15. Church; 16. Hotel; 17. German Consulate; 18. British Consulate; 19. Godowns; 20. Tong Siong Key.

Missionary Constructions

Missionary history in Xiamen could be traced back to 1589 when the attempt of Roman Catholic missionaries was rejected by local authorities.⁷³ After the First Opium War, missionaries had a chance to practice in the treaty ports according to the treaties.⁷⁴ In the beginning of the twentieth century, there were six missionary societies in and about Xiamen.⁷⁵ They owned a lot of properties on Gulangyu, including residence, churches, missionary schools and hospital, etc.

Different from foreign officers and merchants, missionaries were a special group having strong interest in Chinese culture and people, thanks to their religious faith. Many missionaries expressed great enthusiasm to understand Chinese traditions and local people. They even set up a good relationship with the locals, because most of them had learned local dialect in Southeast Asia before they came to Xiamen. Thus, they “were viewed as peaceable, upright, and good men.”⁷⁶

⁷³ In 1631, the Spanish priests of the order of Saint Dominic established a mission station in this district. Decennial Reports (1882-1891), 521-2.

⁷⁴ Power, *Three Years' Residence in China*, 157.

⁷⁵ These six missions were the Roman Catholic Mission (Dominicans) 罗马天主教, the Dutch Reformed Church of America (D.R.C.A.) 美国归正教会 (1842); the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) 英国伦敦差会 (1844); the English Presbyterian Mission (E.P.M.) 英国长老会 (1850); the Seventh Day Adventists 美国安息日会 (1905); and the Young Men's Christian Association 基督教青年会 (1910). Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 146; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 229; Resident Missionaries, “Amoy: Memoranda of the Protestant Missions from their Commencement, with Notices of the City and Island,” in *Chinese Repository* 15, No.7 (July, 1846): 355.

⁷⁶ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 381-2; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 231; Anonymous, “Kúlángsú and Amoy, with Notices of Christian Missions there, of the Manners of the People, Infanticide, &c.,” in *Chinese Repository* 11, no. 9 (September, 1842), 505; David Abeel, “Extract from the Journal of the Rev. D. Abeel, at Kúláng sú, from April to October, 1843,” in *Chinese Repository* 13, no. 2 (February, 1844): 75; Anonymous, “List of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese, with the Present Position of Those Now among Them,” in *Chinese Repository* 20, no.8-12 (August to December, 1851): 523-4; Abeel, “Notices of Amoy and Its Inhabitants,” 233; Anonymous, “Journal of Occurrences: Memorial Regarding the Late Prefect of Canton; Proclamation by the Present Prefect; Popular Feeling towards Foreigners; the French Legation; Mr. Everett; the China Medal; Seamen's Hospital in Hongkong;

More importantly, the missionary policies in Xiamen highlighted the importance of developing native agencies and adopting local customs in promulgating Christianity. They believed that “China must be evangelized by Chinese.”⁷⁷ They translated the Bible into Chinese and romanized local dialect to help the illiterate know the tenets. Moreover, they tried to unite native churches and train native pastors in missionary works.⁷⁸ The first united Chinese Church (Tai-hoey or Great Elders’ Meeting 大会) was established in 1862.⁷⁹ The D.R.C.A., L.M.S. and E.P.M. were united to set up the Three Missions 三公会, in order to establish “self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting churches”.⁸⁰ Consequently, missionary constructions embodied their intention of entering Chinese community and daily life.⁸¹

Churches usually were settled at convenient and easily accessible places. The first preaching place on Gulangyu was a Chinese house of Abeel and Boone obtained in 1842.⁸² (See Fig. 3.1) According to Abeel, the house was “in many respects an exceedingly important position,” and visited by people “generally from other parts of the surrounding country.”⁸³ The L.M.C. initiated Fuyin Church 福音堂 in 1844 along

Morrison Education Society; Sabbath Day Salutes; the Plover; Amoy; Liúchiú; a Visit to Fuchau; Ningpo; Chusan; Shanghai; Peking,” in *Chinese Repository* 15, no. 3 (March, 1846): 160.

⁷⁷ M. T. Yates, R. Nelson and E. R. Barrett, eds., *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), 453-4. (hereafter cited as *General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*)

⁷⁸ Lucy Hawkins, *John Macgowan*, Venturer Series no. 23 (n.p., n.d.) 5-6.

⁷⁹ Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China*, 194.

⁸⁰ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 239.

⁸¹ For the detailed discussion of the missionary constructions in Xiamen, see Chen Yu, “Conversation between Dragon and God: Beyond the Missionary Constructions in Xiamen (1842~1937),” (paper, the Fourth Modern Asian Architecture Network, Shanghai, October 28-30, 2004.)

⁸² This house was also used as a dispensary after Dr. Cumming arrived at Xiamen in 1842. J. C. Hepburn, “Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845,” in *Chinese Repository* 15, no. 4 (April, 1846): 181; Yang Weican 杨维灿, “Gulangyu jiushi yiyuan yuanshi (1898-1951) 鼓浪屿救世医院院史 (1898-1951) [History of the Hope Hospital on Gulangyu],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 1 (1995): 164.

⁸³ Abeel, “Notices of Amoy and Its Inhabitants,” 236.

the eastern shore and close to old jetties.⁸⁴ After the union of the L. M. S. and E.P.M., this Church was moved to the Douglas Memorial Hall at Jimuzuikou 鸡母嘴口 [Month of Hen]. This so-called New Church was erected in 1880 to memorize Carstairs Douglas' twenty-year-service in Xiamen.⁸⁵ Macgowan evaluated the locations of these two churches as follows.

*There are two of the former [churches], one belonging to the English Presbyterians and the other to the London Missionary Society, which being situated in places convenient for those who live in different parts of the island, are filled every Sunday with Christian congregations. ... A very pretty spectacle every Sabbath morning it is to see the troops of worshippers wending their way from the large village in the central part of the island to one of these two churches.*⁸⁶

At the center of Luerjiao, the Union Church was founded in 1863, where services in English were held every Sabbath.⁸⁷ This humble church was thought “comfortable in its crowd neighbors.”⁸⁸ Dr. J. A. Otte of the D.R.A.C. founded the Hope and Wilhelmina Hospital 救世医院 on 27th April, 1898. Initially, it was a male hospital and was added with an independent quarter for women in 1899.⁸⁹ This hospital was

⁸⁴ On this site, the L. M. S. constructed three buildings. One of them was used as Fuyin Church and Fuyin Primary School as well as missionary residence. Another building was arranged as classrooms and dormitory for Guanlan Theological College 观澜圣道学校, so-called Guanlanzai 观澜斋. The other one lodged Chengbi Middle School 澄碧中学. They were regarded as the earliest primary school, theological college and secondary school on Gulangyu. In 1909, the primary school was combined with Minli Primary School 民立小学 to be Fumin Primary School 福民小学. *Xiamen de zujie*, 51-2; He Bingzhong, “Kangzhanqian de fumin xiaoxue he minnan zhiye xuexiao 抗战前的福民小学和闽南职业学校 [Fumin Primary School and Mannan Vocational School before the Anti-Japanese War],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 4 (1999): 119.

⁸⁵ *Xiamen de zujie*, 45; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 254-6; Chen Yiping 陈以平, and He Bingzhong, “Sanyitang jianjie 三一堂简介 [Brief Introduction of Sanyi Church],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 3 (1998): 121.

⁸⁶ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 154-5.

⁸⁷ Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China*, 265.

⁸⁸ According to Macgowan, “the services are conducted by the resident missionaries, one Sunday the Episcopal service being used, and the next the Nonconformist, so as to meet the wishes of the different sections of the community.” Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 151.

⁸⁹ Yang, “Gulangyu jiushi yiyuan yuanshi,” 165; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 244-6; Bowra, “Amoy,” 824; A. C. Marnshuis, M. A., *A Brief Sketch of the Life and Mark of Dr. John Otte*, quoted and

next to the Hezaixia Jetty and had its own anchorage along the Inner Harbor. Thus, it could be easily reached by people from the surrounding districts.

Due to their far-sighted union, the three missions could share limited resources and develop their works as a whole. In the beginning, each mission had a theological college and a middle school, such as Guanlanzai of the L.M.S., Huilanzai 回澜斋 of the E.P.M. and Xunyuanzai 寻源斋 of the D.R.C.A.⁹⁰ In 1884, the missions initiated an united middle school (Xunyuan College) and an united theological college (Huilan College).⁹¹ The Tamagle Memorial Hall was erected at Dongshanding in 1887 “to the memory of Rev. J. V. N. Talmage for his more than forty years service in Xiamen.” Three years later, Xunyuan College was camped at the Hall. After it was re-moved to Zhangzhou, the campus was taken by Yude Middle School for Girls 毓德女中 in 1925.⁹²

Missionary constructions became religious centers and were subsequently attached with many missionary works. Ms. Tamagage of the D.R.C.A.founded Tianwei Girls School 田尾女学 at Zhushujiao 竹树脚 [At the foot of bamboo] on Xiamen by in 1869. Since 1875, it was managed by her second daughter Mary E.

translanted in He Bingzhong, “Yuyuehan yisheng shengping yeji shulue 郁约翰医生生平业绩述略[Brief introduction of Dr. John Otte’s life and deed],” in GLYWSZL, vol.5 (2000): 119-22.

⁹⁰ Wu Bingyao 吴炳耀, “Bainian lai de minnan jidu jiaohui 百年来的闽南基督教会 [Christian missions of South Fujian in the last century],” in XMWSZL, vol. 13 (1988): 92-3, 96-7.

⁹¹ Yates, Nelson and Barrett, eds. *General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*, 461-2.

⁹² A greater union took place in 1907 when Chengbi Middle School 澄碧中学 was combined with Xunyuan College to be the Union Middle School of the Three Missions, and Guanlanzai combined with Huilan College to being the Xiamen Theological College. Gerardus, *Forty Years in South China*, 252; Chang Jiagu 常家祜, “Lin Yutang cengjiudu de xunyuan shuyuan 林语堂曾就读的寻源书院 [Xunyuan College: the Alma Mater of Lin Yutang],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 8 (2002): 125; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 240-2, 255; Wu, “Bainian lai de minnan jidu jiaohui ,” 92-3, 96-7; *Xiamen de zujie*, 52.

Talmage. Because of the missionaries' shifting to Gulangyu, they built a new campus at Tianwei in 1879.⁹³ This school was joined by the Tianwei Women School 田尾妇学 for married women. It was also founded by Ms. Tamagle in 1884 and took over by her oldest daughter Katharine Talmage in 1886.⁹⁴

The E.P.M. had its own Wudai Girls School 乌埭女学 set up in 1876 at Wudaijiao along the eastern shore. It was expanded in 1900. Because the old campus could not satisfy the increasing need of much space, it was moved to its present site on the northeast of the Douglas Memorial Hall in 1910. In memory of Jessie Johnson, it was renamed Huairen Girls School 怀仁女学. Founded in 1898, Huaide Kindergarden 怀德幼稚园 under this Mission was also moved to the site.⁹⁵

The largest and most influential missionary school on Gulangyu was the Anglo-Chinese College 英华书院 (also known as Zhongxixue 中西学). This College was initiated by Rev. James Sadler of the L.M.S. in 1898, due to the "demand for

⁹³ It was also called Huaqi nuxue 花旗女学 because of its American background. Mary was respected by local people as *Erguliang* 二姑娘 [the Second Girl]. *Huairen nuxiao xiaoshi* 怀仁女校校史 [History of Huairan Girls School], (Huairan Girls School, 1937), 4; He Bingzhong, "Xiamen dier zhongxue xiaoshi (1898-196) 厦门第二中学校史(1898-1965) [History of No. 2 Middle School of Xiamen:1898-1965]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 3 (1998): 4; Zhang Chengzhi 张承志, and Zhang Shangxun 张尚训, "Yude nuzhong xiaoshi 毓德女中校史 [History of Yude Middle School for Girls]," in GLYWSZL, vol.3 (1998): 13; Zhu Hongmo 朱鸿谟, "Yude nuzhong ershan shi 毓德女中二三事 [Two or three issues of Yude Middle School for Girls]," in XMWSZL, vol. 14 (1988): 147-54; *Xiamen de zujie*, 54-5.

⁹⁴ Katharine Talmage was called *Daguniang* 大姑娘 [the First Girl]. Zhang Zongqia 张宗洽, "Jindai xifang chuanjiaoshi zai xiamen de shehui wenhua huodong 近代西方传教士在厦门的社会文化活动 [Social and cultural activities of the Western missionaries in modern Xiamen]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 5 (2000): 54; *Xiamen de zujie*, 55; Wu, "Baijianlai de minnan jidu jiaohui," 92-3.

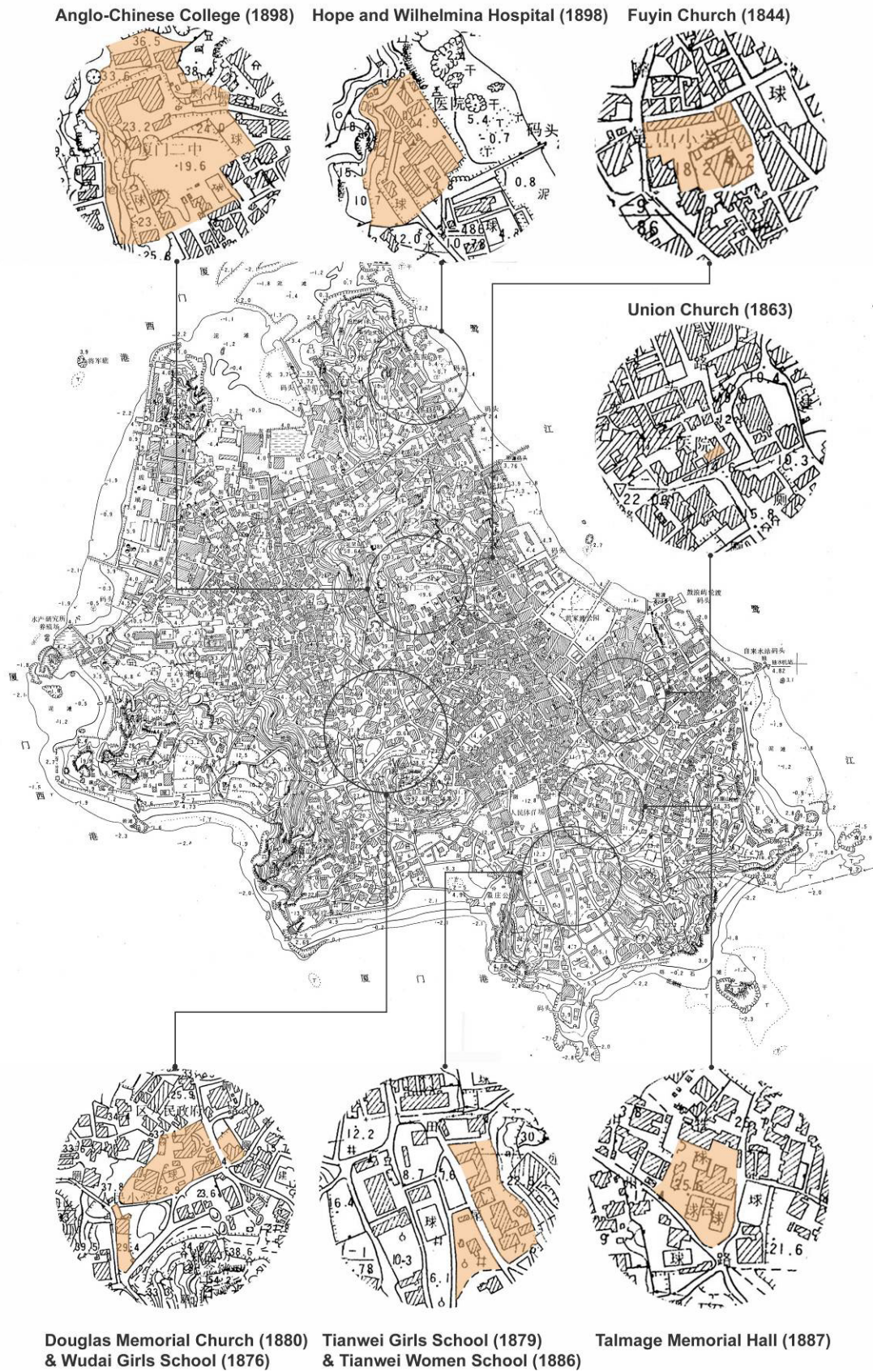
⁹⁵ Wudai Girls School was also called Red (Barbarians) Girls School 红女学 or 红毛女学, because of its British background. Jessie Johnson had a Chinese name - Ren Lixi 仁力西 and was called by local people *Renguniang* 仁姑娘. *Huairen nuxiao xiaoshi*, 4-8; He, "Xiamen dier zhongxue xiaoshi," 4-5; Zhang and Zhang, "Yude nuzhong xiaoshi," 16; Wu, "Bainianlai de minnan jidu jiaohui," 92-5; Zhang, "Jindai xifang chuanjiaoshi zai xiamen de shehui wenhua huodong," 55.

instruction in English and educating along Western lines.”⁹⁶ The Scotch Dr. Bakbour was introduced to direct the school in 1900. With the strong support of the E.P.M., he “raised the chief part of the expenses in connexion with the purchase of land and buildings and the carrying on the work.” It is said that they bought a house from the Tait & Co. in 1901 at Lizhizhai 荔枝宅 [Lichee Residence].⁹⁷ Since then, with the public support, they continued to rent surrounding lots and formed a spacious campus at the east foot of Bijia Hill. The College became an important educational center on Gulangyu.

This brief introduction of missionary constructions on Gulangyu shows that most of them had occupied their present sites by the end of the nineteenth century. The missionaries understood existing transportation system and usually settled the churches on convenient places. Educational institutes were moved to spacious areas for better future development. Hence, the missionary constructions gradually integrated with the original urban network.

⁹⁶ Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 137.

⁹⁷ He, “Xiamen di'er zhongxue xiaoshi,” 1; Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 137; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 240-2; Hu Guofan 胡国藩, “Yinghua zhongxue biannian dashiji 英华中学编年大事记 [Chronicle of the Anglo-Chinese Middle School],” in GLYWSZL, vol.3 (1998), 7; Xu Shengjun 许声骏, “Gulangyu yinghua zhongxue jianwen 鼓浪屿英华中学见闻 [An account of what had seen and heard in the Anglo-Chinese Middle School of Gulangyu],” in XMWSZL, vol. 13 (1988): 21-40; Bowra, “Amoy,” 824-6.



Map 3.8 Distribution of the Missionary Constructions on Gulangyu before 1903.

Public Facilities

In the nineteenth century, foreigners had set up many public facilities on Gulangyu and formed an international community without national boundaries. In Philip Manson-Bahr's words, Patrick Manson's life in Xiamen "was far from dull." Foreigners lived in "a mixed community of Europeans" and had "a gay social life."⁹⁸ Simoes in his manuscript of 1881 listed seven clubs in Xiamen, including the Race Club, Amateur Dramatic Club, Lawn Tennis Club, Cricket Club, Racquet Court Club, the Amoy Club, Amoy Seamen's Club.⁹⁹

Among these public facilities, the most famous was the Recreation Ground (the Lawn). As Pitcher said, "wherever there is a community in the East there you will be pretty sure to find a Recreation ground." Gulangyu had "one of the finest Recreation Grounds along the coast."¹⁰⁰ Opposite to Xingxiangong, the Ground was developed from nine parcels of farm land, which were rented by the American Consul LeGendre from local people. He transferred them to John Paterson and Randall Pye in 1872 with certain conditions. And the site became a public recreation ground in 1876. The process of forming and transferring this property will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Being one of the "conspicuous features" on Gulangyu, the lawn held "most of the outdoor recreations of certain sections of the community," such as tennis, hockey, and football, and cricket, etc. "Whenever a match is being played people turn out in large

⁹⁸ Philip Manson-Bahr, *Patrick Manson: The Father of Tropical Medicine* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 10.

⁹⁹ Simoes, comp., *The Amoy Diary and Memorandum Book*, 37-8.

¹⁰⁰ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 254-6.

numbers to look at it.”¹⁰¹ Sporting was not only a physical exercise for foreigners, but also an important way of uniting them with different nationalities. It also reflected their desire of building a western living environment on the Chinese soil. “This enthusiasm is a tribute to the game itself, but it is also a powerful witness to the strong feeling that exists in every heart for the homeland, and which the long distance from it only tends to deepen and accentuate.” At that time, “the young men who were to play in the games against the visiting seamen even had the right of releasing their works.”¹⁰²

Of the seven clubs Simeos mentioned, the Amoy Club was the most influential.¹⁰³ Although its founding date is unclear, the Map of Gulangyu from 1892 to 1901 already shows that it was at the site of today’s *Haitian tanggou* 海天堂构 at Luerjiao. (See Map 3.7) Later, it was moved to its present site at Tianwei. This Club was managed by a committee voted by members in order to “promote social intercourse amongst the members.” Providing “the essential recreation and amusement in an outport like Amoy,” it had many facilities, such as Squash Court, Billiard Room, Card Room, Theatre, Library and Reading Rooms, etc.¹⁰⁴ Macgowan described the role of this Club played in foreigners’ daily life.

Here, after the duties of the day are over, the gentlemen who are members of it assemble to dispose of their spare time in the manner that is most agreeable to each. Some read the newspapers, others play billiards, others again indulge in bowls, whilst those who are studiously inclined occupy the comfortable reading-room, where numerous periodicals and a

¹⁰¹ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 149-51.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 149-51.

¹⁰³ This club was also called *Wanguo julebu* 万国俱乐部 [Club for Thousands of Countries] and *Daqiujian* 大球欄 [Big Ball Room]. *Xiamen de zujie*, 34.

¹⁰⁴ [Amoy Club], “Rules and Bye Laws of the Amoy Club,” (n.p., n.d.)

*tolerably large library are at their disposal. Should any one be more actively inclined, a fine racquet court is close at hand, where he can enjoy a game and have all the excitement connected with a sport in which more than one of the members of the community have suffered from the perils associated with it.*¹⁰⁵

Despite its small population, the foreign community in Xiamen was quite active in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Freemasonry, a secret society of Western elites, set up two Masonic Lodges in Xiamen in 1878, viz. Ionic Lodge of Amoy No. 1781 E.C. and Corinthian Lodge of Amoy No. 1806, E.C. They “assembled to carry out the secret duties of their order,”¹⁰⁶ and had regular meeting in the Masonic Lodge on the south of the Lawn. These two lodges were popular in the foreign elite of Xiamen. Because of their charity activities, the public accepted their secret meetings.¹⁰⁷

Foreigners also had some cemeteries on Gulangyu. In fact, because of long-time Sino-Foreign interaction in Xiamen, there were many old foreign burial grounds around the island as I have mentioned in Chapter 2. The largest foreign burial ground on Gulangyu was the Foreign Cemetery formed during the British occupation of this Island. At that time, many English soldiers died of the plague. George Smith described the situation of the foreign burial grounds on Gulangyu in 1846 as following.

Indelible monuments of the recent foreign occupation remained in the crowded British cemetery, in which lay the unfortunate sufferers who fell victims to the insalubrity of the spot. This cemetery was situated at the eastern side of the island, near the landing-place, and had many elegant grave-stones, erected by the sympathy of surviving comrades. Near the

¹⁰⁵ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 151-2.

¹⁰⁶ Simoes, comp., *The Amoy Diary and Memorandum Book*, 39.

¹⁰⁷ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 151-2.

*northern village, screened from view by a little assemblage of trees, was situated the burial-ground of the Missionaries.*¹⁰⁸

On the east of Xingxiangong, the Foreign Cemetery became a landmark. The area around it was called Yangmukou 洋墓口 [Entrance of the Foreign Cemetery]. In the beginning, this Cemetery accepted all foreigners in Xiamen. Later, the Japanese were rejected. They obtained a particular burial ground at Wugepai in 1895.¹⁰⁹ Before the establishment of Gulangyu Municipal Council, the Foreign Cemetery was managed by the “Kulangsu Road and Cemetery Fund” (the Road Committee in brief) with public subscription.

The Road Committee was founded before 1876 to maintain the foreigners’ interest on Gulangyu. Without the recognition of local authorities, it was operated as an autonomous institute and was annually elected by foreign residents who paid a yearly rate of five dollars.¹¹⁰ This Committee consisted of foreign elites in Xiamen as its member list of 1886 shows.¹¹¹ With “the taxes raised from the community,” they tried to “repair the old roads and to open new ones.” However, its power was limited, because it had “no real authority to adopt or enforce any regulations, and could only to do what its name implied, keep the roads in order.”¹¹² As Macgowan commented,

¹⁰⁸ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 385-6.

¹⁰⁹ *Xiamen de zujie*, 12.

¹¹⁰ Local scholars say that the Committee was founded in 1878. But Pitcher wrote that “the foreigners had organized the Road Committee in 1887.” According to Bruce’s affidavit, the Committee took over the Recreation Ground in 1876. Thus, it is faithful to guess that the Committee was founded before 1876. *Xiamen de zujie*, 22; Yu, Zhang, and Zeng, “Gulangyu lunwei gonggong zujie de jingguo,” 275; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 262; Annual Report: 1923, 7-9.

¹¹¹ The member of the Road Committee in 1886 included R. J. Forrest (British Consul), J. Macgowan (missionary of the L. M. S.), J. Mleavy Brown (Commissioner of the Xiamen Customs), A. Suenson (manager of the Great North Telegram Company), L. A. Andersen (Ship Surveyor of the Xiamen Customs), R. S. Ringer (Medical Officer for the Xiamen Customs), R. H. Bruce (manager of Tait & Co.) Decennial Reports (1882-1891), 131-2.

¹¹² Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 262.

“considering the limited area on which they have had to operate, it is very creditable to them that they have managed to make about eight miles of good serviceable roads, which can be used in nearly all weathers.”¹¹³ According to the Decennial Reports, there was “no new roads have been constructed from 1882 to 1891.” But “several new lamps have been added to those already existing on Kulangsu.”¹¹⁴ Besides, “umbrageous trees” were planted along roads, which “not only add to the picturesqueness of the island and enhance the beauty of the walks, but they are also a great comfort during the hot months.”¹¹⁵ (Fig. 3.6) Compared with the “brutalized, unsavoury, and inartistic” streets on Xiamen, Gulangyu present “a very different state” as the Xiamen Customs reported.

*Foreign houses abound on it, and the Foreigners must have good roads. Several miles of such have been made, and special care is taken that they are kept in good order. His keen sense of the beautiful has caused him to plant trees along the sides of the roads, and these have given not only a sylvan air to the scenery, but have also helped to mitigate, by their shade and by the breezes that wander around them, the extreme heat of the summer months.*¹¹⁶

During Patric Manson’s sojourn on Gulangyu from 1871 to 1883, “Kulangsu served as the unofficial home of the foreign community. Members of the consular staff, leading merchants, and the missionary community not only made the island their home but also organized their social life around the clubhouse.”¹¹⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century, foreigners on Gulangyu not only constructed many spacious compounds, but also formed an international community to maintain their interest. As

¹¹³ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 148-9.

¹¹⁴ Decennial Reports (1882-1891), 508.

¹¹⁵ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 148-9.

¹¹⁶ Decennial Reports (1882-1891), 131-2.

¹¹⁷ Douglas M. Haynes, *Imperial Medicine: Patric Manson and the Conquest of Tropical Disease* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 31-2.

Chris Elder says, they “worked so hard at diverting itself, not just because the conditions favoured the effort, but also because of the need to keep at bay a sense of alienation. They were in China, but not of it.”¹¹⁸

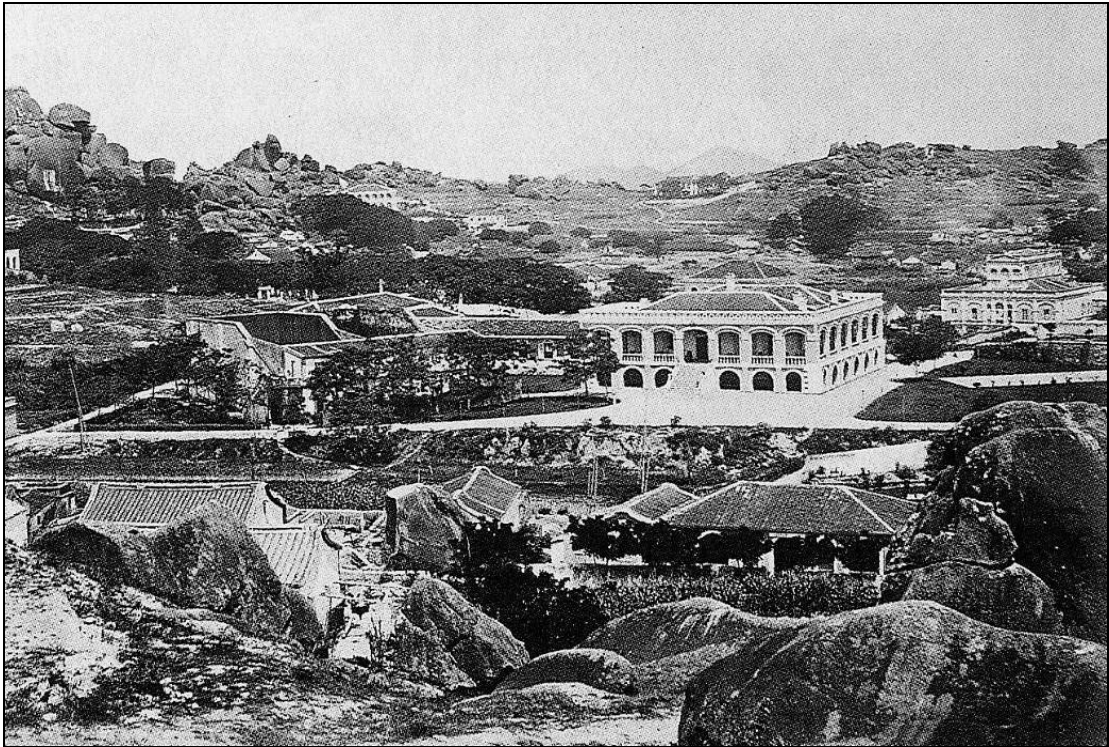


Figure 3. 6 Amoy [Gulangyu], Albumen print mounted on card, 11 X 8 1/2 in. ca. 1890. (Source: Horstmann & Godfrey Ltd., *Old Photographs of Chinese Cities: Hong Kong, Macau, Canton, Amoy, Shanghai and Peking, 1865-1912*, Hong Kong: Horstmann & Godfrey Ltd., 1995)

Despite its limited power, the autonomous Committee partially improved the living environment on Gulangyu. That was appreciated by local people.¹¹⁹ In the last decade of the nineteenth century, some Chinese officials and wealthy merchants were attracted to settle home on Gulangyu.

Chinese officials, too, usually very conservative and unwilling to break away from old customs, are beginning to show their appreciation of

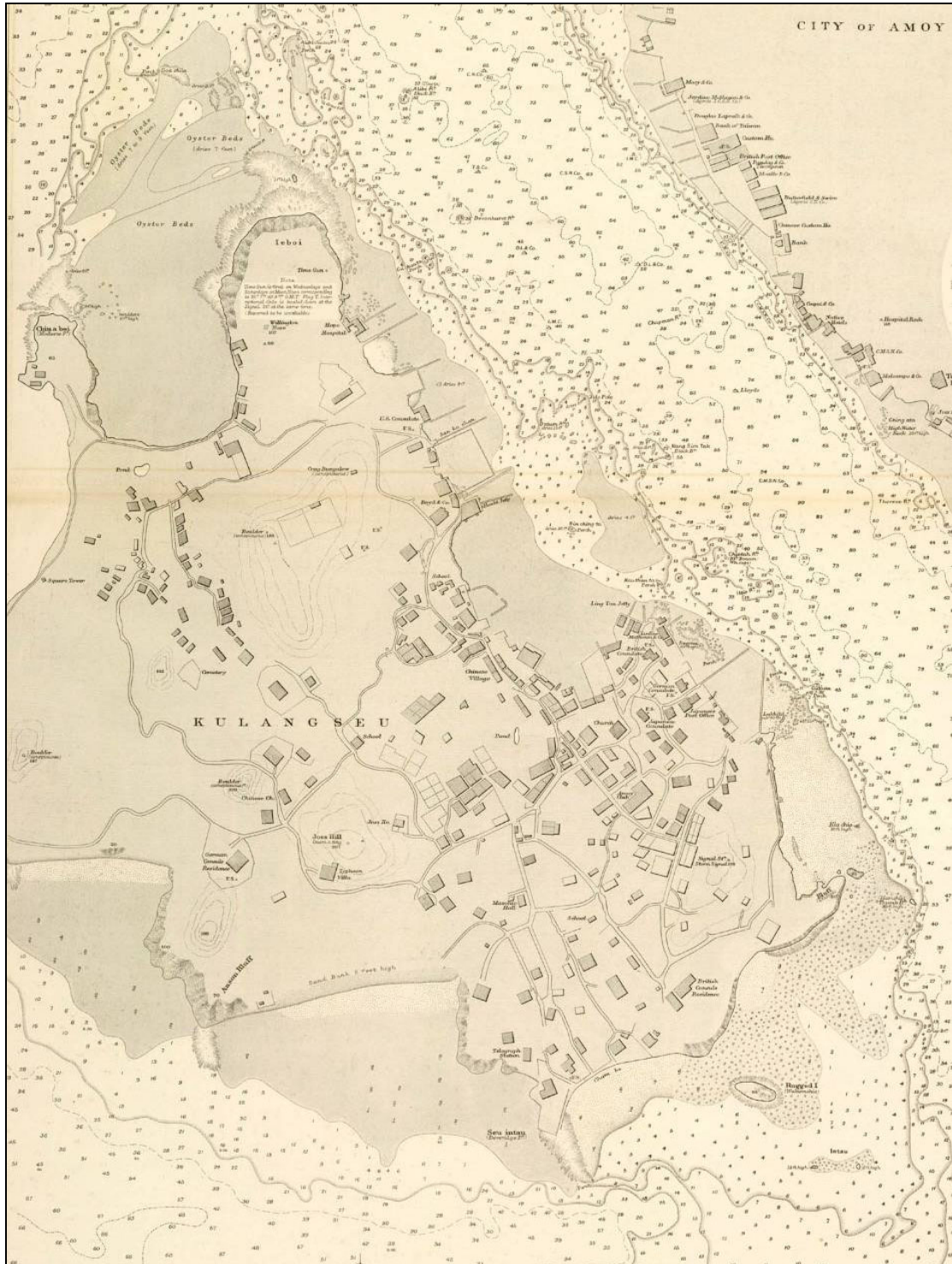
¹¹⁸ Elder, ed., *China's Treaty Ports*, 134.

¹¹⁹ Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China*, 148-9.

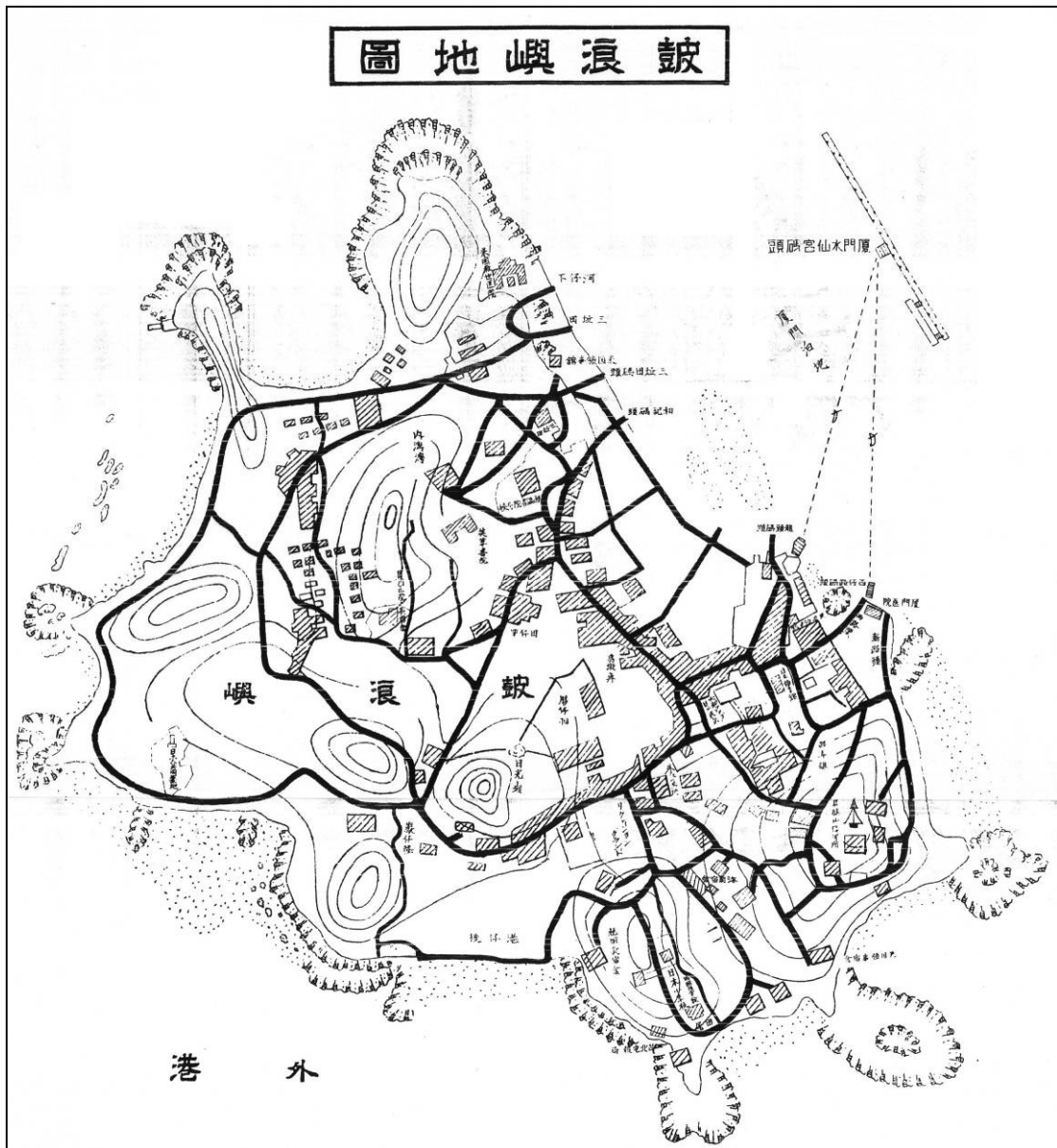
*Foreign buildings and Foreign ways. The present territorial Taotai, in the usual way, resided at his yamên in the Native city; but last year engaged a European house in the centre of Kulangsu, and now goes to and from his yamên daily in a Foreign six-oared gig. ... The influx of wealthy Chinese from Manila and Formosa has been followed by the erection of numerous houses in Foreign style for their occupancy.*¹²⁰

However, all these changes took place within the original urban network. While planning their compounds, foreigners utilized the existing transportation system. Although the consular buildings had political consideration and the foreign residence had comfortable pursue and the missionary constructions had religious ambition, they were integrated into the original urban network. Most of the influential foreign buildings had been completed by the end of the nineteenth century. The Map of Gulangyu in 1903 (Map 3.9) illustrated a clear road network that had evolved from that recorded in the map of this island in 1863. (See Map 3.2) Interestingly, this urban structure kept almost unchanged as a Japanese map of Gulangyu in 1938 presented. (Map 3.10) It is reasonable to assume that a developed urban structure had taken shape on Gulangyu before the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement. It was further maintained during the Municipal Period.

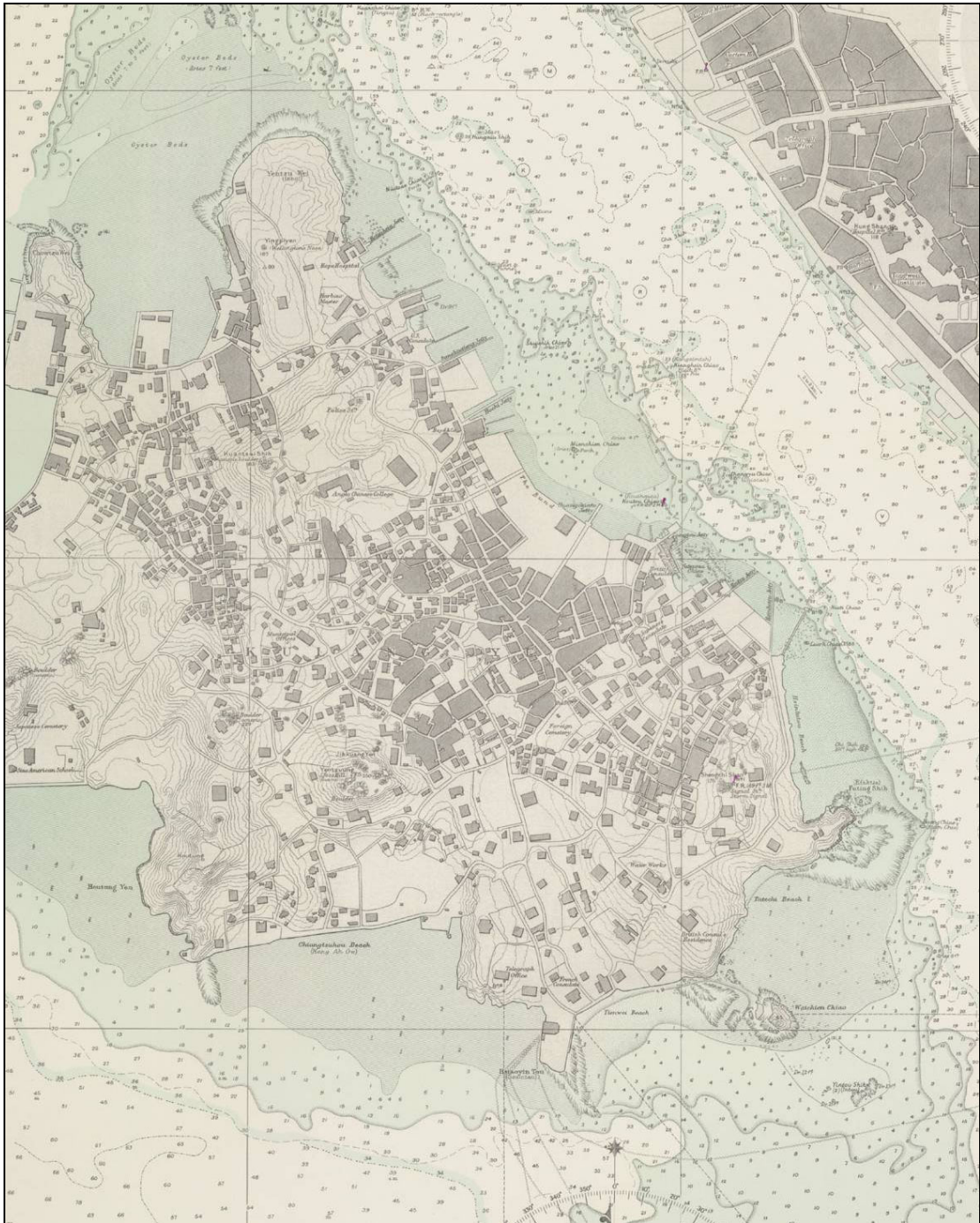
¹²⁰ Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 145.



Map 3. 9 Map of Gulangyu, 1903. Detail of the map of China East Coast: Amoy Inner Harbour, surveyed by T. J. Eldridge, assisted by H. C. Muller and Mess. F. W. Callsen, R. Douglas and W. H. Barley in 1903, published at the Admiralty 27th Jan. 1905. It shows a mature urban structure that was formed before 1903. (Source: The British Library).



Map 3.10 Map of Gulangyu, 1938. It shows a clear road network that was developed from the one showed in the Map 3.9. Published by *Taiwan zongdufu wenjiaoju xuewuke* 台湾总督府文教局学务课 [Education Section of the Culture and Education Bureau, Government of the General-Governor in Taiwan] in 1938. (Source: National Library of China)



Map 3. 11 Map of Gulangyu, 1951. Detail of the map of China-East Coast: Amoy (Shamen) Inner Harbour, surveyed by T. J. Eldridge, assisted by H. C. Muller and Mess. F. W. Callsen, R. Douglas and W. H. Barley in 1903, with addition to 1948, firstly published at the Admiralty 27th Jan. 1905, large corrections at 2nd Nov. 1934 and 9th March, 1951. Because this map was developed from the Map 3.9, the comparative study of these two maps will present the changes of the urban structure before and after 1903. The detailed analysis will be presented in next chapter. (Source: The British Library).

Summary

The study of urban formation of Gulangyu before 1903 presented its urban state prior to the operation of a semi-colonial administration on this island. Before the First Opium War, there were three to four thousand Chinese living in two neighbourhoods on Gulangyu. Although the British occupation interrupted their life, they eventually resumed the original living environment. Due to strong clanship, family members usually congregated around ancestral halls. An original urban structure was developed from their understanding of natural environment. Two old neighborhoods close to shores were easily accessed. Many roads or paths linked the villages, temples and jetties. The temples became community centers and had great effect on their surroundings. The study of Chinese activities on Gulangyu before 1903 also indicated the existence of a traditional Chinese social structure on Gulangyu. It was the key force beyond the preservation of the original urban structure on this island.

Foreigners had resided on Gulangyu since 1860s and formed an international community without national boundaries at the end of the nineteenth century. Although having different cultural backgrounds, they realized the importance of utilizing the existing transportation system. Following the land exchange system, they could select sites according to their personal preferences. Consular buildings reflected political consideration of showcasing national power. Foreign residence mirrored their high living standard and personal taste. Affected by religious policies, missionary constructions showed their concerns of entering Chinese communities and involving in Chinese daily life. Different from the Chinese family-based social structure,

foreigners paid much attention to public facilities, such as recreation ground, clubs, cemeteries, and roads, etc. They also set up the Road Committee to serve their small community.

This study highlighted that a basic urban structure had taken shape before the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement in 1902. On one hand, the Chinese neighbourhoods and temples were not much affected by foreigners' arrival. On the other hand, most of foreign constructions had completed before the operation of the Municipal Council. At the end of the nineteenth century, rich Chinese started to settle down on Gulangyu after realizing the advantages of its healthy and sanitary environment.

Chapter 4

Urban Transformation from 1903 to 1937

*Kulangsu, though found terribly unhealthy when occupied by the British garrison in 1842, except for occasional cases of malaria in the valleys, is a healthy enough place of residence nowadays, especially since it has been kept clean by the Municipal Council, and (to quote Sir Patrick Manson again) a little languor by the end of summer, becoming more pronounced as a rule the longer one stays here, is perhaps the only climatic disease a sensible man need suffer from.*¹

Cecil Bowra. “Amoy.” 1908.

Cecil Bowra’s description of Gulangyu suggested efforts by the Municipal Council in creating a wholesome living environment on the island. Without question, the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement was a milestone in its urban history. In 1930s, Gulangyu had been claimed as “one of the prettiest in all China.”² The construction boom lasted until the outbreak of the 1937 Sino-Japanese War. The landscape of the then island has been largely retained today.

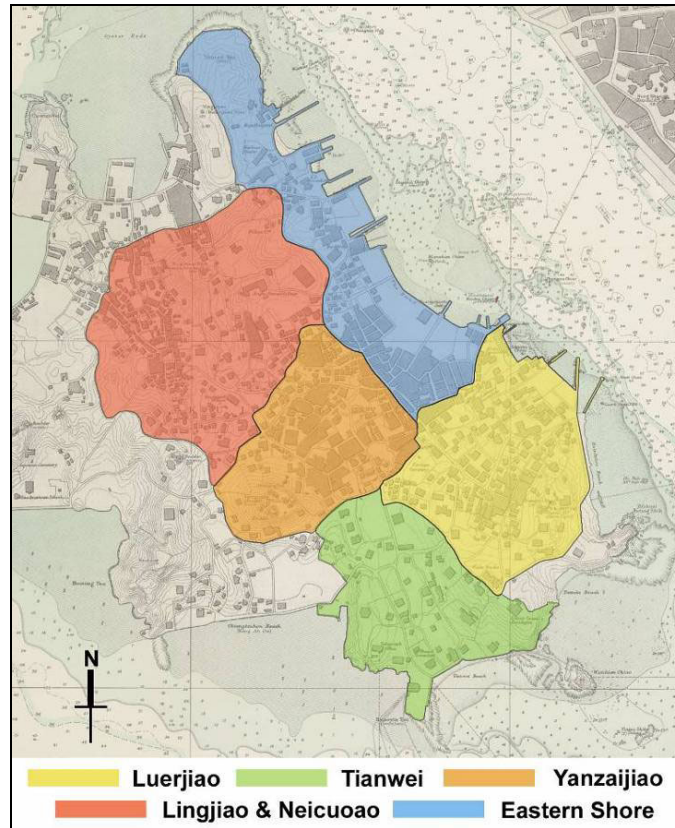
In order to highlight the urban transformation of Gulangyu from 1903 to 1937, urban changes of five geographical areas are examined in this chapter, including Luerjiao where most of the consulates and grand residences of overseas Chinese were built; Yanzaijiao with its traditional Chinese neighborhood and Quanzhou Road 泉州路 as well as Anhai Road flanked by overseas Chinese houses; the new civic center at Lingjiao 岭脚 and the Chinese neighborhood at Neicuoao; Tianwei where the

¹ Bowra, “Amoy,” 814.

² Crow, *Handbook for China*, 379.

foreigners' buildings were concentrated; and, the highly reclaimed eastern shore.

(Map 4.1)



Map 4.1 Five Areas on Gulangyu

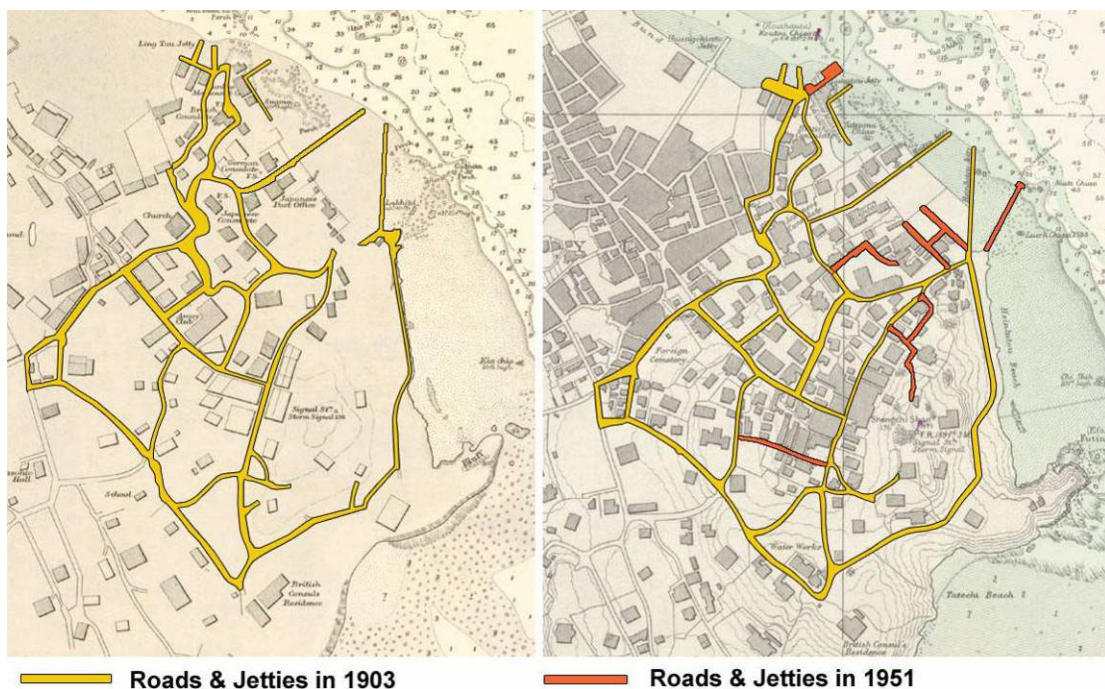
Because details of the urban construction during the Municipal Period are unavailable, three basic methods are used in this study to present a preliminary image of the urban situation during that era. Firstly, through the comparison of the 1903 and 1951 Map of Gulangyu, I intend to show that urban structure had already been formed in each area before 1903. Further, we can understand how new elements were added to the urban network. Secondly, based on my survey on Gulangyu in 2003 and 2004, existing old constructions are marked to show their distribution and relationship with their surroundings.³ Thirdly, I focus on the building process of these constructions in

³ These existing old constructions were hatched in the Map 4.4, 4.6, 4.8, 4.10. Most of them are ranked as heritage buildings by local government.

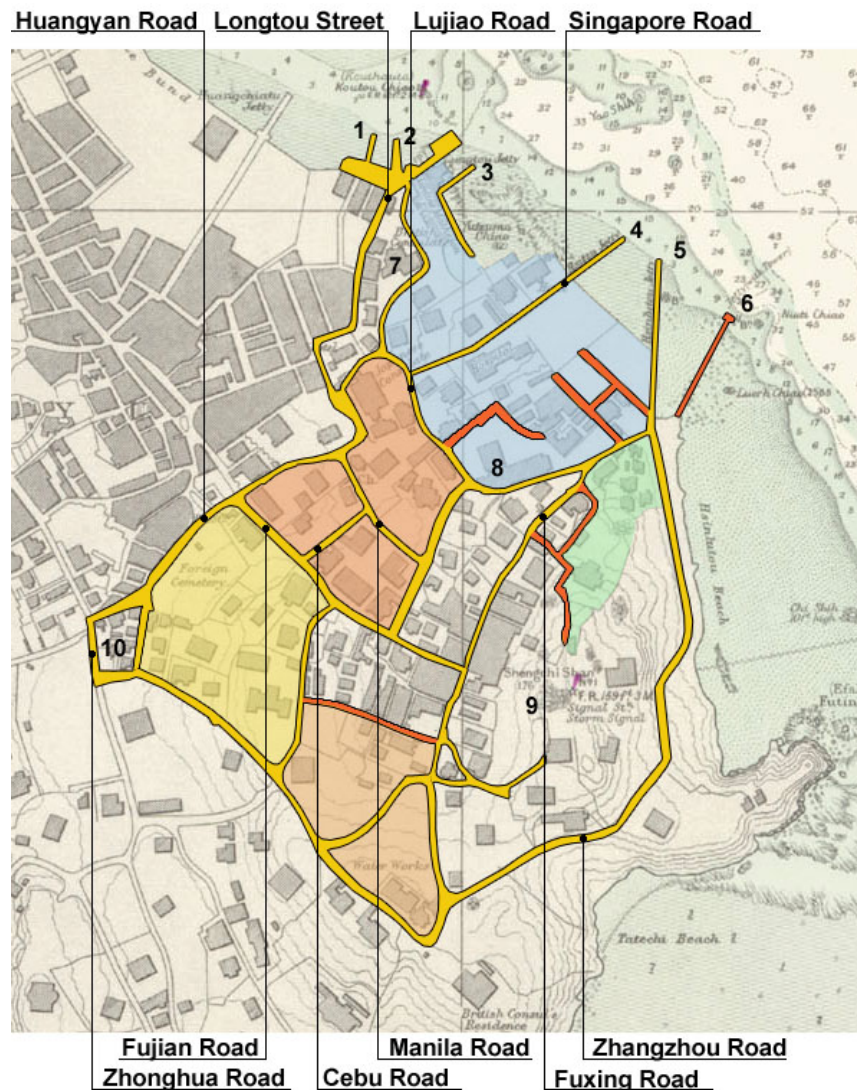
order to understand what forces participated in the urban development during the Municipal Period.

4.1 Luerjiao

Luerjiao is an area along the northeastern shore, bounded on the southeast by Shengqi Hill, northwest by Longtou Street and Huangyan Road, and southwest by Zhangzhou Road. It consisted of three main roads, namely Fuxing Road 复兴路 along Shengqi Hill, Lujiao Road along the old shore, and Fujian Road adjoining Longtou Street. In the comparison of this area in 1903 and 1951, we found that the road network of Luerjiao was shaped before 1903 apart from some minor lanes and a jetty. However, many buildings emerged in this area after 1903. (Map 4.2) Further, five parts of Luerjiao are analyzed to show urban changes during the Municipal Period. (Map 4.3)



Map 4.2 Urban Structure of Luerjiao in 1903 and 1951



Map 4.3 Five Parts of Luerjiao

1. Shuangjiang Jetty; 2. Longtou Jetty; 3. Yihe Jetty (Zhuzai Jetty, Yuzai Jetty, Xuewen Jetty); 4. Singapore Jetty; 5. Xin Jetty; 6. Choushui Jetty; 7. The British Consulate; 8. Linshifu; 9. Shengqi Hill; 10. Xingxiangong.

Firstly, the shore starting from the northeastern foot of the British Consulate to the Linshifu had undergone massive reclamation during the Municipal Period. However, five of the six jetties in the map of 1951 were the old jetties as the Map of 1903. The present Gulangyu Ferry was developed from the Longtou Jetty in 1937.⁴ West of it was Shuangjiang Jetty 双桨码头 [Double Oars Jetty] serving as the anchorage the

⁴ Yang Jibo 杨纪波, "Gulangyu de gongyong shiye 鼓浪屿的公用事业 [Public utilities on Gulangyu]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 1 (1995): 176-7.

locals' sampans. The “stone pier” and “coal sheds” of the Jardine, Matheson & Co. 义和洋行 was set up in 1884, known as Yihe Jetty 义和码头 and Zhuzai Jetty 猪仔码头 [Jetty of Coolies] due to the coolie activities carried out there. Later, it became an anchorage for fishing boats and was named Yuzai Jetty 鱼仔渡头 [Jetty of Little Fishes]. Later, Zhaoxiang Construction Factory 兆祥营造厂 was built adjacent to the jetty and was replaced soon after by a soap factory. Thus, this jetty was then renamed Xuewen Jetty 雪文厂码头 [Jetty of the Soap Factory].⁵ (See Map 4.3)

In the early twentieth century, Linshifu faced the water. (Fig 4.1) Lin Erjia 林尔嘉 rebuilt the Xiaolou 小楼 [Small Building] in 1913 and constructed the Bajiaolou 八角楼 [Eight-square Building] in 1915. The shore in front was reclaimed in 1932 and a cluster of buildings was built thereon.⁶ The road starting from the Japanese Consulate to the Singapore Jetty (Se Lu Tao) was named Singapore Road. On a reclaimed site south of the road, the Japanese Hospital 博爱医院 [Amoy Hakuai Hospital] was founded in 1918. The new building was constructed on the eastern site and was completed in 1934.⁷ Starting from the adjunction of Fuxing Road and Zhangzhou Road, the Xin Jetty (Sin Low Taw 新路头) was in existence before 1903. To its east, there was a special jetty for the Water Work, which was set up in 1933 and called Choushui Jetty 抽水码头 [Jetty for Water Piping]. (Map 4.4)

⁵ In an interview with Mr. He Bingzhong in July of 2003, he drafted the distribution of these jetties in 1950s according to his recollection. Mr. He is the vice-curator of the Xiamen Zheng Chenggong Memorial Museum and a historian.

⁶ Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1932, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1933* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1933,) Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 3. (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1932)

⁷ Zhang Maoji 张茂吉, *Xiamen xianzhuang 厦门现状* [Present situation of Xiamen] (Xiamen: Nanhai shibaoshe minnan zongzhiju 厦门南海时报社闽南总支部, 1936), 5-6.

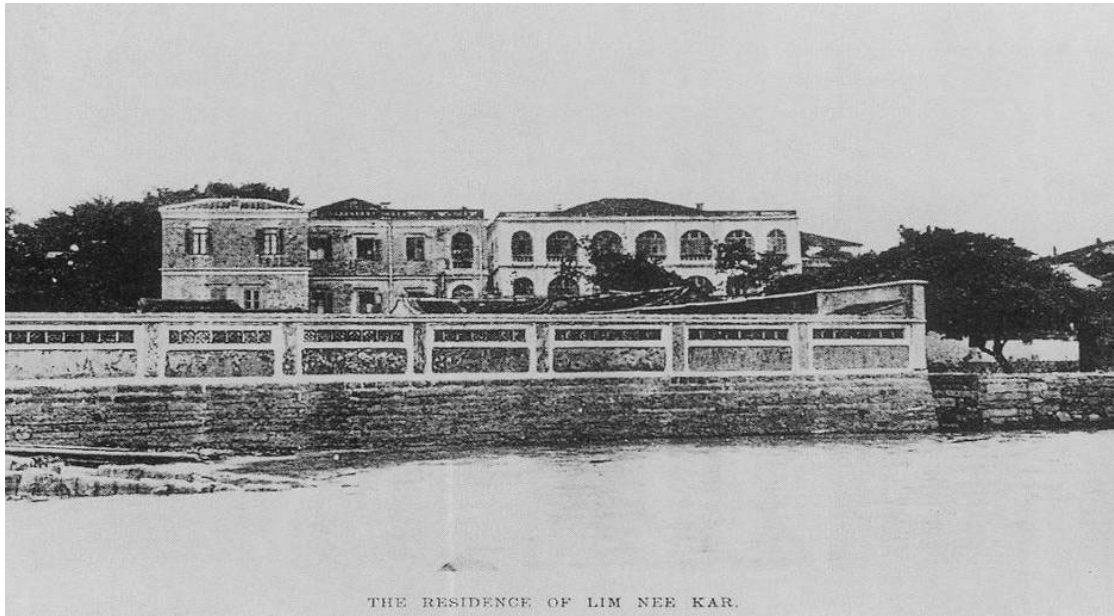


Figure 4. 1 The Residence of Lim Nee Kar (Linshifu), 1908. (Source: Wright and Cartwright, eds. *Twentieth-Century Impressions*, 824)

Secondly, the main building activities of the foreigners at Luerjiao during the Municipal Period were the expansion of the Japanese Consulate in 1915 and 1928,⁸ and the construction of the Catholic Church and its attached Weizheng Primary School 维正小学 in 1912.⁹ Most of lots at Luerjiao were taken over by overseas Chinese who constructed many grand residences. Because of the congregation of wealthy overseas Southeast Asian Chinese with Fujian origin, the roads between their quarters reflected this fact: Cebu Road, Manila Road, Luzon Road, Singapore Road as well as Fukien Road. However, all these roads had been laid before 1903. The visible change on them during the Municipal Period was the straightening of Manila Road.

⁸ Fang, "Ribei zhuxia lingshiguan jingchashu dixia jianyu diaocha jilu," 10; *Xiamen de zujie*, 8.

⁹ *Xiamen de zujie*, 44, 56.



Map 4.4 Map of Luerjiao (the hatched showing the heritage buildings in this area)

1. The British Consulate; 2. The Japanese Hospital; 3. Linshifu; 4. The Japanese Consulate; 5. Catholic Church; 6. Weizheng Primary School; 7. Huangrongyuan Hall; 8. Garden of Xu Family; 9. Haitian tanggou; 10. Union Church; 11. Residence of Ye Qingchi; 12. Properties of the Electric Light and Power Co.; 13. The Foreign Cemetery; 14. Compound of Li Family; 15. Xingxiangong; 16. Residence of Liao Family; 17. Talmage Memorial Hall; 18. Garden of Huang Family at Dongshanding; 19. Residence of Bai Family; 20. Property of the Xiamen Waterworks Co.; 21. Compound of Huang Family; 22. Ronggu; 23. The Signal Station.

Separated by a Chinese style rockery of the Catholic Church, Huangrongyuan Hall 黄荣远堂 was a grand residence obtained by Huang Zhongxun in 1932.¹⁰ On its east was Garden of Xu Family 许家园, an overseas Chinese family. Opposite to the Huangrongyuan Hall was the site of the former Amoy Club, which was transferred to Huang Xiulang 黄秀琅 in 1921 and constructed three buildings thereon. He was a Filipino overseas Chinese originating from Jinjiang 晋江. At the same time, he invited Huang Nianyi 黄念亿, another Filipino overseas Chinese with the same origin, to join in the project. The latter constructed two houses in 1929 and collectively named them as Yanggao Villa 仰高别墅 [Villa of Respecting Senior] in memory of their close relationship.

Northwest of this compound, a quarter was divided among three overseas Chinese families and a company. The northeastern block belonged to Ye Qingchi 叶清池, a Filipino overseas Chinese; the southeastern block was formerly owned by Huang Xiulang and was transferred to another overseas Chinese after he initiated Haitian tanggou; the huge block on the west corner was occupied by an overseas Chinese family; and the southern corner block was owned by the Electric Light and Power Co.¹¹

Thirdly, Fuxing Road (formerly Lah Kee Tah Road) had a huge concentration of the locals in early days, where some traditional Chinese houses have been retained. And the triangular site at its southern end was an old Chinese burial ground where the

¹⁰ Chen, "Huangxing yu Gulangu de kaifa," 23.

¹¹ Ibid., 20-1; Lerey Webber, "Amoy Consular District," in *China: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, ed. Julean Arnold (Washington: U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1926,) 558-9; Yang, "Gulangu de gongyong shiye," 174.

tomb of Huang Tianzai was exhumed. The southern corner of this ground was regarded as a public property of the Municipal Council and was leased to the Xiamen Waterworks Co. to construct a house and two reservoirs in 1927.¹²

However, most of the land along the road was divided into smaller lots to house the Chinese. North of the triangular site was the properties of Bai Family 白家, who respectively constructed three houses with gardens in 1902, 1912 and 1930.¹³ Southwest of their properties was the large compound of Huang Yizhu at Dongshanding, which was obtained from foreigners and has been used by his descendants till today. His mother's grave was also found in the garden in 1927.¹⁴

Fourthly, the Chinese neighbourhood temple Xingxiangong was operating well during the Municipal Period despite the changes of its neighboring lots. With the exception of two important foreign constructions (the Foreign Cemetery and the Talmage Memorial Hall) remained on their original sites, most of the houses were owned by the Chinese. On the east of the Foreign Cemetery was the properties of Liao Family 廖家, a wealthy Malay overseas Chinese family.¹⁵ West of the Talmage Memorial Hall was the Compound of Li Family, also known as Lijiazhuang 李家庄. It was said that the lot was transferred to Li Zhaoyi 李昭以 (a wealthy Filipino overseas Chinese) from a tutor of the missionary Yude Middle School for Girls.¹⁶

¹² Yang, "Gulangyu de gongyong shiye," 176; Webber, "Amoy Consular District," 558-9.

¹³ Gong Jie 龚洁, *Dao Gulangyu kan laobieshu 到鼓浪屿看老别墅* [Visiting Old Villas on Gulangyu] (Hubei: Meishu chubanshe 湖北美术出版社, 2002), 89-90.

¹⁴ Ye Gengxin 叶更新, and others, "Huang Yizhu huiguohou dashiji 黄奕住回国后大事记 [An account of Huang Yizhu's major activities after his return to China]," in GLYSZL, vol. 5 (2000), 82.

¹⁵ Gong Jie, "Gulangyu liaojia bieshu jishi 鼓浪屿廖家别墅纪事 [Records of Liao Family's villa on Gulangyu]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 9 (2002): 62.

¹⁶ Gong, *Dao Gulangyu kan lao bieshu*, 50.

Fifthly, at the northern end of Fuxing Road, Huang Yizhu obtained some properties from Phriozsha Jamsetii Petigura in 1921. Since then, this great compound has occupied by his family. Li Qingquan 李清泉(son of Li Zhaoyi) with an honourific of Timber King, secured the lot on the south of Huang Yizhu's compound and initiated the building of his residence in 1926. It was completed in 1933 and was named Ronggu 榕谷 [Banyan Valley].¹⁷ A path starting from the Fuxing Road to the Signal Station on the hilltop appeared during the Municipal Period. It also passes by the southwestern wall of the Compound of Huang Family and the Ronggu.

Close to the Chinese village at Yanzaijiao and the traditional jetties, Luerjiao was developed by the locals in the early days and formed a fundamental road network that was further developed into key roads in this area. After the First Opium War, it had a concentration of many foreign constructions, including the consulates, churches, cemetery, and foreigners' houses. The distributions of these constructions suggest that foreigners adhered to the original transportation system. Hence, the roads at Luerjiao were almost complete before 1903. Despite the construction boom in this area during the Municipal Period, transportation infrastructure works were only limited to some lanes and a new jetty added to the old urban network. Moreover, since the end of the nineteenth century, many foreign properties were transferred to wealthy Chinese, especially those returning Taiwanese and overseas Chinese. These new owners reconstructed or renovated the foreigners' compounds to match their social status and overseas experience. Gradually, Luerjiao became an area with a high concentration of wealthy Chinese.

¹⁷ Li Qingyue 李清月, "Li Qingquan bieshu 李清泉别墅 [Villa of Li Qingquan]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 6 (2001): 114.

4.2 Yanzaijiao

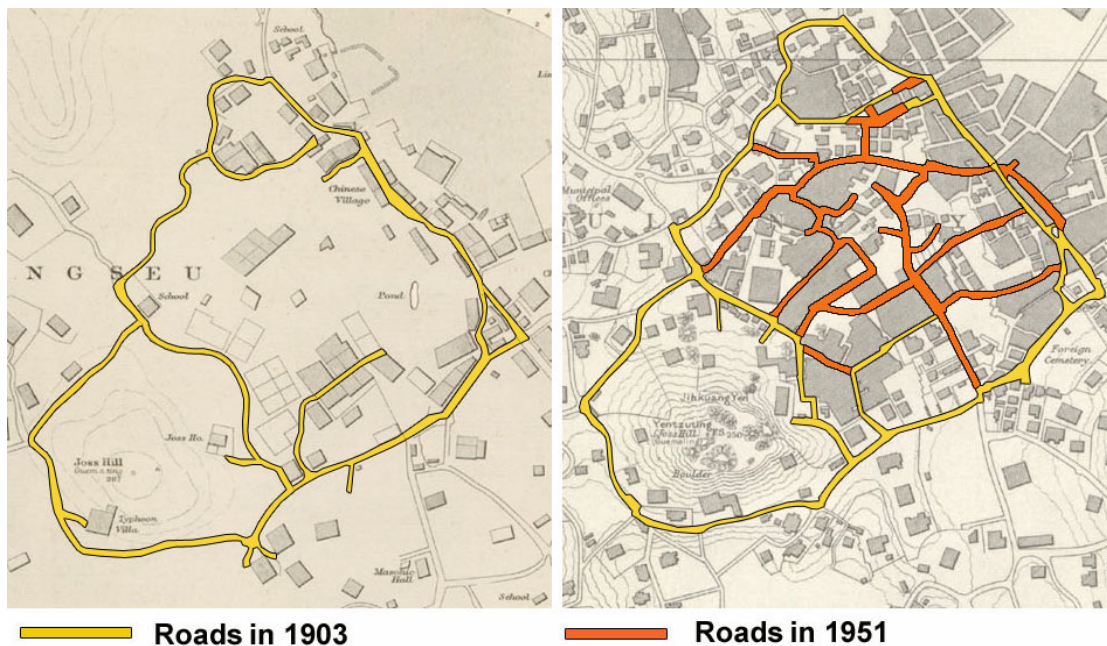
At the eastern foot of Yanzai Hill, Yanzaijiao was one of the earliest Chinese settlements on Gulangyu. It was also a developed neighbourhood, where the largest and well-preserved traditional Chinese houses could still be found today. (Fig. 4.2) This area extends to the old shore at the present Longtou Street, bounded on the southeast by Huangyan Road and Longtou Street, and northwest by Anhai Road. Unlike Luerjiao, Yanzaijiao was seldom featured in British maps, in which only the marginal Huangyan Road, Yongchun Road and Anhai Road could be found. The whole area was blank or simply collectively marked as “Chinese Village.” However, the 1951 Map of Gulangyu showed a densely population and complicated road network in this area. (Map 4.5) The reason could be due to the British inability or unwillingness to survey old Chinese settlement in the early years. The same thing also happened for the Chinese neighborhood at Neicuoao.



Figure 4.2 Traditional Chinese Compounds at Yanzaijiao (Left: Dafudi; Right: Siluo dacuo)

As I have discussed, the roads in this area had been highly developed due to the living and religious requirements. Huangyan Road, Anhai Road, Quanzhou Road, Haitan Road, and Tiger Lane 虎巷 bisected the settlement to link Riguangyan

Temple with the eastern shore. The early situation of this area could be discerned today. Being the main north-south road in this area, Zhonghua Road was known as Central Road during the Municipal Period. In its middle portion, we could find the compound of Huang Family – the Siluo dacuo. Along the east-west Haitan Road, they also owned many properties, including Dafudi, Huangshi xiaozong and the site of today's Children Palace, also known as Zhulin jingshe and was used as a private school for the clan's children. They donated it to the public and became Puyu Primary School 普育小学 in 1921.¹⁸ (See Map 3.3, Map 4.6)

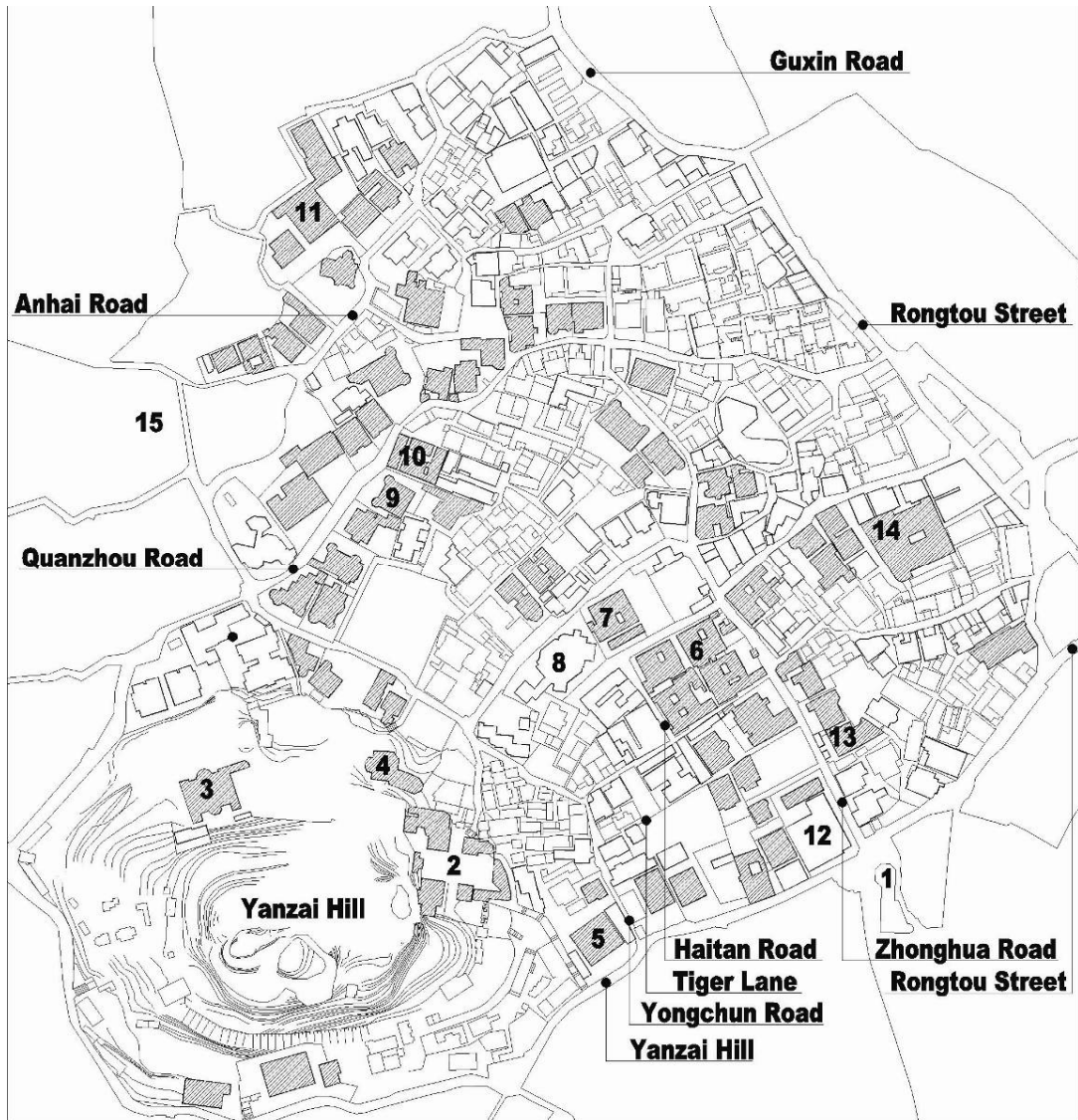


Map 4.5 Urban Structure of Yanzaijiao in 1903 and 1951

Great changes took place at the edges of this area during the Municipal Period. Firstly, the land along or near Huangyan Road were subdivided to lodge many public institutions, including the new Fuyin Church (1905), the Bank of China (1922), the China & South Sea Bank (1934), the Bank of Industry in China (1934), and the

¹⁸ Chen, "Huangxing yu Gulangyu de kaifa," 20.

Transportation Bank (1935), etc.¹⁹ It is also said that the Xiamen Telegraph Co. Ltd., founded in 1923, had an office in this quarter too.²⁰



Map 4.6 Map of Yanzaijiao (the hatched showing the heritage buildings in this area)

1. Xingxiangong; 2. Temple of Riguangyan; 3. Xilin Villa; 4. Kanqing Villa; 5. Fuyin Church; 6. Siluo dacuo; 7. *Dafudi*; 8. Site of the Former Zhulin Jingshe; 9. Jingualou; 10. Chinese Houses at Wudaizhong; 11. Fanpolou; 12. Site of the Former Bank of China; 13. Site of the Former Telegraph Co.; 14. Gulangyu Market; 15. The Municipal Council.

¹⁹ Jinzhiban 金志办, "Jiefangqian xiamen de yinhang 解放前厦门的银行 [Banks in Xiamen before the Liberation]," in XMWSZL, vol. 14 (1988):38, 42-3, 52-3, 57.

²⁰ Chen Shuxi 陈淑熙, "Shangban xiamen dianhua gongsi 商办厦门电话公司 [Telephone Company in Xiamen]," in XMWSZL, vol. 10 (1986): 106-8; Yang, "Gulangyu de gongyong shiye," 175; Webber, "Amoy Consular District," 556-7.

Secondly, the northern Anhai Road and Quanzhou Road were favoured and developed by wealthy overseas Chinese during the Municipal Period. This was partially because the roads link the new civic center at Lingjiao and the eastern shore. But the retention of traditional Chinese houses in the middle section of Quanzhou Road (Wudaizhong 乌埭中) suggested its origin as a traditional Chinese settlement. (Fig. 4.3) Generally speaking, houses along these two roads were of high quality and had flamboyant appearances, reflecting their owners' eclectic taste and wealth. For example, Fanpolou 番婆楼 [Foreign Madam's House] was constructed in 1927 by a Filipino overseas Chinese Xu Jingquan 许经权 originating from Jinjiang. Like other overseas Chinese, he returned home after finding success abroad. As a gift to his mother, he bought a large property in the middle part of Anhai Road for her. At the east of the old villa, he constructed a grand house for his mother and a small one for servants. In addition, he constructed an opera stage for his mother's enjoyment.²¹ Jingualou 金瓜楼 [Golden Melon Mansion] was another typical case. This eclectic house was decorated with traditional Chinese architectural details was owned by another Filipino overseas Chinese Huang Cimin 黄赐敏 originally from Longhai 龙海. Initially, he intended to invest in his hometown after his return in 1924. Finally, he gave up this plan due to the unstable situation in his county and settled his family on Gulangyu. In fact, the poor social state in modern China was an important reason explaining the huge concentration of overseas Chinese on safe and sanitized Gulangyu. (Fig. 4.4)

²¹ Gong, *Dao Gulangyu kan laobieshu*, 83.



Figure 4.3 Chinese Houses at Quanzhou Road



Figure 4.4 Overseas Chinese Residences at Quanzhou Road and Anhai Road (Left: Fanpolou; Right: Jingualou)

The overseas Chinese influence on urban construction in this area is crucial, especially during the Municipal Period. Huang Zhongxun purchased many lots around Yanzai Hill – the landmark of Gulangyu. He was the son of Huang Wenhua 黄文华, a Minnan native who became rich in Vietnam. Directed by his father, Huang Zhongxun returned to Xiamen after World War I and set up the family company Huangrongyuan Hall. He liked Yanzai Hill very much and successively built Houfanglan Villa 厚芳兰馆 in 1916 to commemorate his father's deeds in Vietnam, Kanqing Villa 瞰青别墅 [Villa of Overlooking the Greenery] in 1918, and Xilin Villa 西林别墅 [Villa of the Western Forest] from 1927 to 1932.²² Along the main

²² Chen, "Huangxing yu Gulangyu de kaifa," 23.

commercial street on Gulangyu – Longtou Street, the Burma overseas Chinese Wang Ziru 王紫如 and Wang Qiru 王其华 purchased several lots from 1928 to 1931 in the name of *Ruhua* (Loo Hwa) Company 如华公司. Having obtained approval by the Municipal Council, they constructed the Gulangyu Market in 1934.²³

The transformation of Yanzaijiao showed how the traditional Chinese settlement was influenced by construction boom during the Municipal Period. However, most of the changes took place at the periphery of the old neighborhood. Except for the new Fuyin Church, no foreign construction was inserted into this area. The reason could be that foreign forces could not or was unwilling to reside in a highly developed Chinese settlement. On the contrary, the overseas Chinese with the same cultural background appreciated this area and purchased properties to lodge their families. Thus, they brought with them eclectic architecture, mixing Chinese and Western styles, into traditional Chinese urban space. The large number of overseas Chinese houses along the Anhai Road and Quanzhou Road also indicated the influence of the new civic center at Lingjiao.

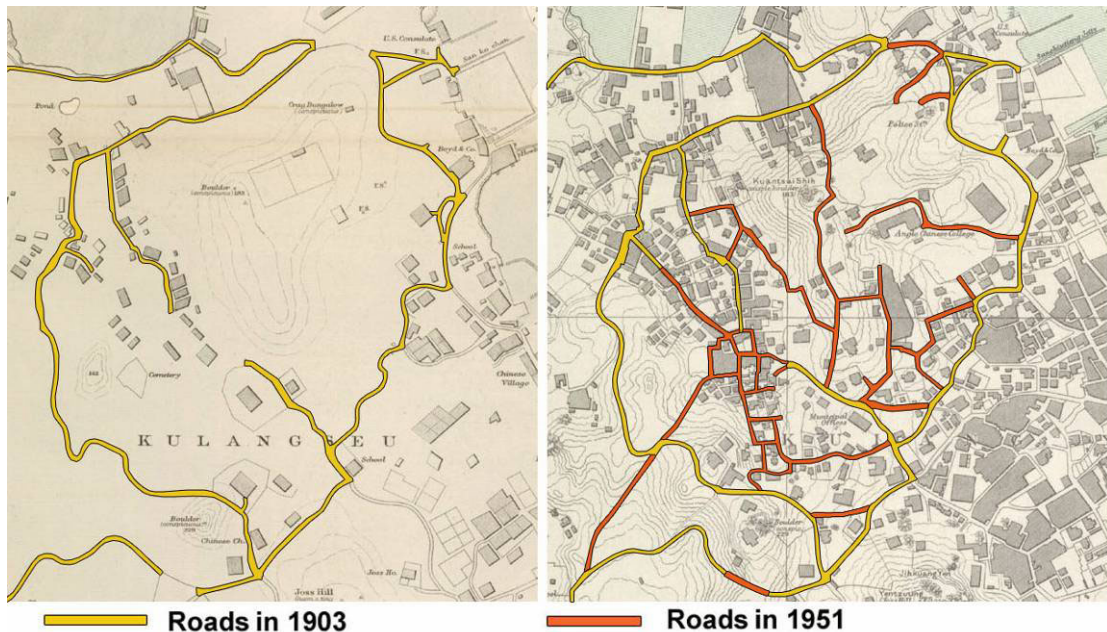
4.3 Lingjiao and Neicuoao

Geographically separated by Bijia Hill from the Yanzaijiao neighborhood, Neicuoao was an area between the two bays – Kangtai'an and Da'aonei, where the locals set up one of the earliest settlements. For the same reason, this part of Gulangyu was overlooked in British maps. However, many roads were connecting these two independent parts of Gulangyu before 1903, such as Jishan Road 鸡山路,

²³ Chen Quanzhong, "Longtou shichang de bianqian 龙头市场的变迁 [Changes of the Longtou Market]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 6 (2001): 130-5.

Neicuoao Road and Bijiaoshan Road. Anhai Road had linked the Lingjiao 岭脚

[Foot of Range] with the eastern shore. In addition, Gusheng Road 鼓声路 extended west towards the Bay of Wugepai. (Map 4.7)

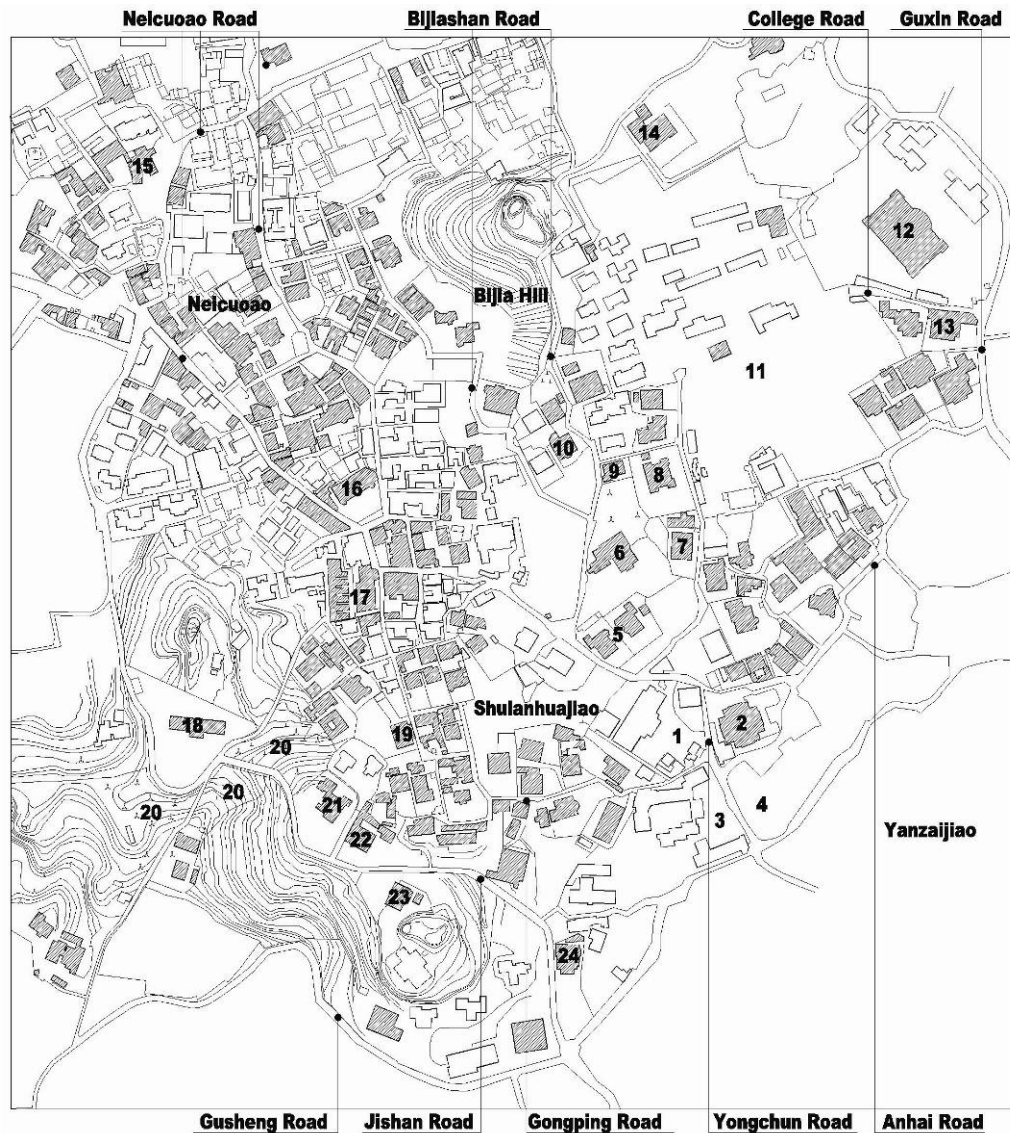


Map 4.7 Urban Structure of Lingjiao and Neicuoao in 1903 and 1951

The establishment of Gulangyu Municipal Council created a new civic center at Lingjiao, which was largely influential in the development of its surrounding. In the beginning, the Council rented Chuantouhang 船头行 near the Heji Jetty. Later, they selected a site at the eastern foot of Bijia Hill and constructed three official buildings in 1908, which included an office, a dormitory and a jail.²⁴ Thus, the sloping lodge of the Municipal Council was also called “the Range of the Municipal Council.” Since then, many other institutes settled in this area, including the Mixed Court housed in

²⁴ *Xiamen de zujie*, 19-20; Chen Jiansheng 陈建盛, “Gulangyu huishen gongtang 鼓浪屿会审公堂 [The Mixed Court on Gulangyu],” in *XMWSZL*, vol.14 (1988):31-2; Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 260.

the twin houses of Huang Zhonghan (Huang Chung Han 黄仲涵), and the Superintendent of the Xiamen Customs in the White House.²⁵ (Map 4.8)



Map 4.8 Map of Lingjiao and Neicuoao (the hatched showing the heritage buildings in these areas)

1. The Municipal Council; 2. Sanyi Church; 3. Huairen Girls School; 4. Huaide Kindergarden; 5. The Mixed Court; 6. Residence of Lin Wenqing; 7. Residence of Zheng Bainian; 8. Yizu Villa; 9. Guancailou; 10. Chuncaotang; 11. Anglo-Chinese College; 12. Bagualou; 13. Yangjiayuan; 14. Properties of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank; 15. Zhongdegong; 16. Garden of Huang Family; 17. Shiba jiaotong; 18. Anxian Church; 19. Jiangdao Church; 20. Chinese Christians' Cemetery; 21. Yinzhai; 22. Residence of Zhuo Quancheng; 23. Missionary Residence; 24. Linwu.

²⁵ Yu, Zhang, and Zeng, "Gulangyu lunwei gongong zujie de jingguo," 269; Chen, "Gulangyu huishen gongtang," 27-8; *Xiamen haiguanzhi*, 16; *Xiamen de zujie*, 25.

The congregation of these institutes strengthened the position of Lingjiao as a new civic center. When the Chinese Christians initiated the building of a church in 1930s, this area was regarded as the town centre. Interestingly, it was away from the foreigners' preferred areas, such as Luerjiao and Tianwei, situated between the two traditional Chinese neighborhoods. Although no documents pertaining to the construction process of the Municipal offices could be founded, it is credible to assume that this area had space to develop a new centre and was conveniently located in order to cope with daily affairs on the island with the majority population of Chinese.

Many roads and buildings appeared around Lingjiao during the Municipal Period. For example, along Bijiashan Road (Pit Kay San Road), there were many grand compounds of local and overseas Chinese, such as the compound of Dr. Lin Wenqing (Lim Boon Keng 林文庆), the first president of Xiamen University; Yizu Villa 亦足山庄 [Villa of Satisfaction] of Xu Han (Hsu Han 许罕), a Vietnamese overseas Chinese; the residence of Zheng Bainian (Cheng Po Nien 郑柏年), the first Chinese dean for the Anglo-Chinese College; Chuncao Hall 春草堂 of Xu Chuncao (Hsü Chen Tsao 许春草), a Chinese Christian and influential native leader; Guanzailou 观彩楼 [House of Watching Colour Cloud] for a Dutch engineer, etc.

At the eastern foot of the Bijia Hill, the so-called Lzhizai, the Anglo-Chinese College had already built their campus in 1902. They continued to secure the surrounding land to construct a larger campus that was linked by College Road with the eastern shore. It had one classrooms building and an auditorium added in 1913

and was renamed “Anglo-Chinese Middle School for Boys” in 1924.²⁶ With the support of the alumni, a library – Baiyoulou 百友楼 [Building of Hundred Friends] was completed in 1936.

Adjoining the College and on the north side of College road, Lin Heshou 林鹤寿 initiated the building of Bagualou 八卦楼 in 1907, who was a member of the Banqiao Lin Family. This super villa almost depleted his fortune. In order to continue this project, he had to obtain a loan from the Japanese Bank of Taiwan.²⁷ The project lasted thirteen years; even then, the dome was unfinished. Eventually, Lin Heshou was made a bankrupt and the Japanese took over the villa.²⁸ Opposite to Bagualou, at the junction of the College Road and Guxin Road 鼓新路 was Alegria A. Villa owned by a Filipino overseas Chinese Christian Family. It is said that they obtained the lot from the E. P. M. This Compound consisted of four independent houses and were completed in 1913. They were known as Yangjiayuan 杨家园 [Garden of Yang Family].²⁹ Originally from Longxi 龙溪, Yang Family went to Manila in the nineteenth century and found their wealth there. Yang Zhongquan 杨忠权 returned hometown to get married in 1904. Later, he moved his family to Gulangyu and initiated the construction of this compound that allowed each family to have an independent house and shared public facilities.³⁰

However, these seemingly “new” distributions were not really new. For example, the roads were laid upon old paths formed in the early locals’ cultivation of the area.

²⁶ *Xiamen de zuijie*, 53.

²⁷ Jinzhiban, “Jiefangqian xiamen de yinghang,” 64.

²⁸ Qiu Chengzhong 邱承忠, “Bagualou/八卦楼,” in GLYWSZL, vol.1 (1995): 184-6.

²⁹ Gong Jie, “Gulangyu shiliao (erze) 鼓浪屿史料(二则) [Two pieces of historical materials of Gulangyu],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 8 (2002): 158.

³⁰ Gong, *Dao Gulangyu kan laobieshu*, 86.

The title deeds belonging to Lin Wenqing and the E. P. M. show that Huang Family had been cultivating this area since the early Qing dynasty, and old Chinese deeds had already recorded the geographical state of their properties and suggested the existence of old paths in this area. How land was secured from the locals and how the land exchange system had impact on the urban transformation of Gulangyu will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Besides the Anglo-Chinese College, many other missionary constructions started to form around the new civic center during the Municipal Period. This endowed this area with particular Christian character, such as Anglo-Chinese College, Jiangdao Church 讲道堂 at Shulanhuaajiao 树兰花脚, Huairen Girls School, Huaide Kindergarden and Sanyi Church 三一堂 adjoining the Municipal Council, and Anxian Church 安献堂 at Jimu Hill.

When the Douglas Memorial Hall at Jimuzui was destroyed by termites, the Chinese Christians constructed their new Fuyin church in 1905 at the southern foot of Yanzai Hill.³¹ However, it could not satisfy the need of the increasing number of Chinese converts. A new site was selected at Shulanhuaajiao where Chinese Christians constructed the Jiangdao Church in 1930.³² In fact, to the north of the Douglas Memorial Hall and the south of the later Municipal Council, the building of a new campus for Wudai Girls School was initiated in 1905 and completed in 1911. It was renamed as Huairen Girls School 1910.³³ The school was expanded in 1924 and 1926. To commemorate another Missionary Lady of the E. P. M., a two-storey auditorium

³¹ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 233.

³² *Xiamen de zujie*, 45.

³³ *Huairen nuxiao xiaoshi*, 4-8; He, "Xiamen dier zhongxue xiaoshi," 4-5; Zhang and Zhang, "Yude nuzhong xiaoshi," 16; Johnstons, *Jin Ko-Niu*, 143.

was built in the 1930s and was named Sinitang 思倪堂 [Hall of Missing the Lady Ni].³⁴ Opposite to this Girls School were Huaide Kindergarden and Huaide Normal School for Children Education built in 1898 and 1900 respectively.³⁵

The construction process of the Sanyi Church not only reflects the cooperation of the Missions and the increasing power of the Chinese Christians, but also demonstrated the system of free land transaction on Gulangyu and the administration of the Council. The project was initiated in 1927 and work started in 1933. Sourcing for a convenient and spacious place for the new church, they searched around the island and found out that most of the better lots were already occupied by houses. Finally, they found an ideal lot in front of the Municipal Council. It was located in a quiet residential quarter, away from busy Longtou Street. Three Chinese landholders of the proposed site responded differently to the request of the missions. Lin Quanxin 林全信 claimed a high price for his property and Lin Zida 林子达 transferred his lot to the missions at a low rate. Both were Christians. The owner of the lot in the east of the proposed site was a non-Christian Shi Family 施家 refused to sell their property. Thus, the church could not finish the planned main entrance until this family converted to Christianity and latter donated the lot in 1998. Meanwhile, with future road widening in mind, the Council exchanged a piece of public land on the east of their Office with the Church's land along Yongchun Road. This church was partially completed in 1936 and named as Sanyi Church to symbolize the Christianity tenet of

³⁴ *Xiamen de zujia*, 53.

³⁵ Zhang, "Jindai xifang chuanjiaoshi zai xiamen de shehui wenhua huodong," 55.

the Holy Trinity as well as the union of three churches. However, due to the Japanese occupation on Xiamen in 1938, the whole project was not completed until 1945.³⁶

Along Jishan Road and Gusheng Road, many missionary buildings and the houses of the Chinese Christians were constructed in the early twentieth century. Rev. W. C. Hankin of the Seventh Day Adventists was sent to develop missionary work on Gulangyu in 1905. In the beginning, he rented a Chinese house at Wudaizhong to start Yucui Primary School 育粹小学. Meanwhile, he constructed a house for his family at the foot of Yingxiong Hill. After his departure in 1906, B. L. Anderson was stationed on Gulangyu. He obtained many lots on Wugepai from a Huang Family in 1910 and erected buildings such as church, school, boarding rooms, and residences, etc. Directed by Anderson, the Sino-American Middle School for Boys was founded in 1909 and a School for Girls was set up in the Anxian Church that was completed in 1934 at the western end of Jishan Road.³⁷

After the Douglas Memorial Hall was disused, its lot was transferred to a Chinese Christian Lin Zhenxun 林振勋 around 1923. Linwu 林屋 [House of Lin Family] designed by his son Lin Quancheng 林全诚 was completed in 1927.³⁸ Yin Xuepu 殷雪圃, another wealthy local Christian secured a site along Jishan Road within a stone's throw from the Anxian Church in 1924. He constructed the Yinzhai 殷宅 [House of Yin Family].³⁹ His neighbour, Zhuo Quancheng 卓全成 was another wealthy Chinese Christian, who built a large house on the east of the Yinzhai. Not

³⁶ Zhu Hongmo 朱鸿谟, "Gulangyu sanyitang jianzhu shimo 鼓浪屿三一堂建筑始末 [Construction Process of Sanyi Church on Gulangyu]," comps. Ye Gengxin, Liu Jianxue 刘剑学, and others. in XMWSZL, vol. 7 (1984): 108-24; Chen and He, "Sanyitang jianjie," 121-4; XMDZJ, p.45.

³⁷ *Xiamen de zuijie*, 43-4, 56.

³⁸ Gong, *Dao gulangyu kan laobieshu*, 56.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

only were the houses of the Chinese Christians settled along the Jishan Road, several large cemeteries for Chinese Christians were also set up around the Anxian Church.

With the formation of the new civic center, the Shulanhuaajiao between Neicuoao and Yanzaijiao gradually developed into a new residential area with a mixed-use urban character. Starting from the junction of the Anhui Road and Yongchun Road, Gongping Road 公平路 bisected Shulanhuaajiao to link to the Neicuoao area. The houses along this road presented an unique distribution – the lots at its southern end and near the Municipal Council are spacious, dotted with independent houses, and those at the northern end adjoining the Neicuoao Road are crowded and congested with semi-detached houses. The Shiba jiaotong 十八脚桶 [Eighteen Buckets], a compound constructed by Weng Family 翁家 in 1930s reflected the changing Chinese family values during the Municipal Period. Its design matched the needs of the Western nucleus family and the Chinese extended family. The front part along the road had three semi-detached houses for the senior members; and the back section consists of five similar independent two-storey houses for junior members. The corner unit is a little larger due to the shape of the lot. Each level of these units was designed for a small nucleus family with its own cooking facilities. The central yard with a well was the centre of family life. The numerous buckets found around the well gave the compound its interesting folk name.

Zhongdegong, the neighbourhood temple of Neicuoao was retained, and the land enclosed by the Neicuoao Roads was congested with Chinese houses. The Survey of the Loss of Houses on Gulangyu made in 1945 showed the situation of this area before it was bombed in the same year. This survey consisted of seventy-three reports,

of which, seventy happened in Neicuoao in areas such as Jishan Road, Neicuoao Road and Kangtai Road. Among these properties, forty-nine were *pingwu* 平屋 [one storey building] and twenty-one were *louwu* 楼屋 [two or three stories buildings]. According to the owners' statements, all of the *louwu* were constructed after 1911 and were mostly completed in 1920s and 1930s. 30% of the *pingwu* were built at the end of the Qing dynasty.⁴⁰ Hence, it is reasonable to assume that this area was dominated by traditional Chinese houses during the Municipal Period. Meanwhile, this statistics showed that ten of the *pingwu* were constructed before 1911 in the name of Huang. This further verified the huge concentration of the Huang Families at Neicuoao.

Close to the two bays – Kangtai'an and Da'aonei – this area had a huge concentration of small industries on Gulangyu, such as the Amoy Dock, the Amoy Tinning Company, etc. Along the Neicuoao Roads, many shop houses with five-foot way were constructed during the Municipal Period. For example, around 1921, Huang Dugeng 黄笃庚 and Huang Dumai 黄笃麦, two brothers from Tong'an initiated the building of their Garden of Huang Family at the southern junction of the Neicuoao Roads. Meanwhile, they built ten shops on its west and Guanghua Primary School 光华小学 occupied on the second floor of these shops.⁴¹

The creation of the new civic center at Lingjiao not only linked the two disparate neighbourhoods on Gulangyu, but also turned formerly remote areas between them into flourishing residential quarters and missionary centres. However, their development adhered within the old urban network. On one hand, the old

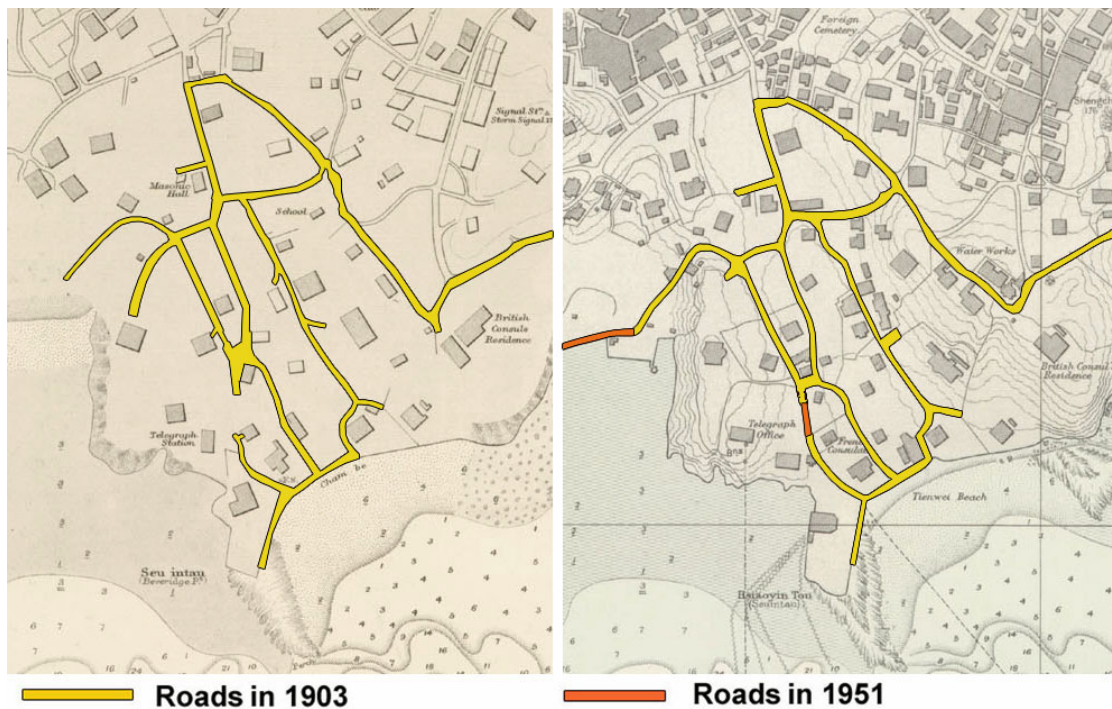
⁴⁰ "Riwei zhanling xiamen shiqi fangwu sunshi diaochabiao 日伪占领厦门时期房屋损失调查表 [Survey of the house loss in Xiamen during the Japanese Occupation]," 1945, Xiamen Archives, 9-1-456.

⁴¹ Chen, "Huangxing yu gulangyu de kaifa," 25-6.

neighbourhood was added with new buildings and the Neicuoao Roads had shop houses flanking them. On the other hand, while former farmlands were turned into residential quarter and missionary centres, old paths were developed into “new” roads. Thus, new settlements were interwoven into existing urban network. Moreover, the remote situation of these areas provided more space to develop the large missionary projects and attracted Chinese Christians to reside there.

4.4 Tianwei

To the south of Xingxiangong, Tianwei (Chan Bay in local dialect) is a narrow valley bounded on the east by Shichuanding and west by Shikanding, extending to the Beach of Tianwei. This area had been cultivated by the locals in the early days. Since it was an area away from the villages, it got the name of Tianwei. The section of Zhonghua Road in front of Xingxiangong was called Temple Road during the Municipal Period, which extended south and connected with Tianwei Roads (Chan bay Road North, West and East). Zhangzhou Road also separated this area from Luerjiao. All these roads were already been laid before 1903 and the urban structure at Tianwei remained unchanged during the Municipal Period. (Map 3.9)



Map 4.9 Urban Structure of Tianwei in 1903 and 1951

Despite the change of landholders, the urban distribution around the Xingxiangong was already established before 1903. This will be discussed in Chapter 6. The Recreation Ground continued its role as part of the foreign community. The premises on its west were finally obtained by Huang Yizhu in 1919. Since 1925, the Masonic Lodge was used by the Ned. Indische Handels Bank and the Netherlands Consulate.⁴² To its south was the property of the Banqiao Lin Family after they returned to Xiamen in 1895. And the triangular site south of the Xingxiangong was obtained by the Xiamen Customs since 1860s.

Since the British Consular Residence, the Beach House and Fairview of the Xiamen Customs occupied the top of Shichuanding and Shikanding in the middle of the nineteenth century. Tianwei was favoured by foreigners and its urban structure was more or less established at that time. The British Consular compound had its

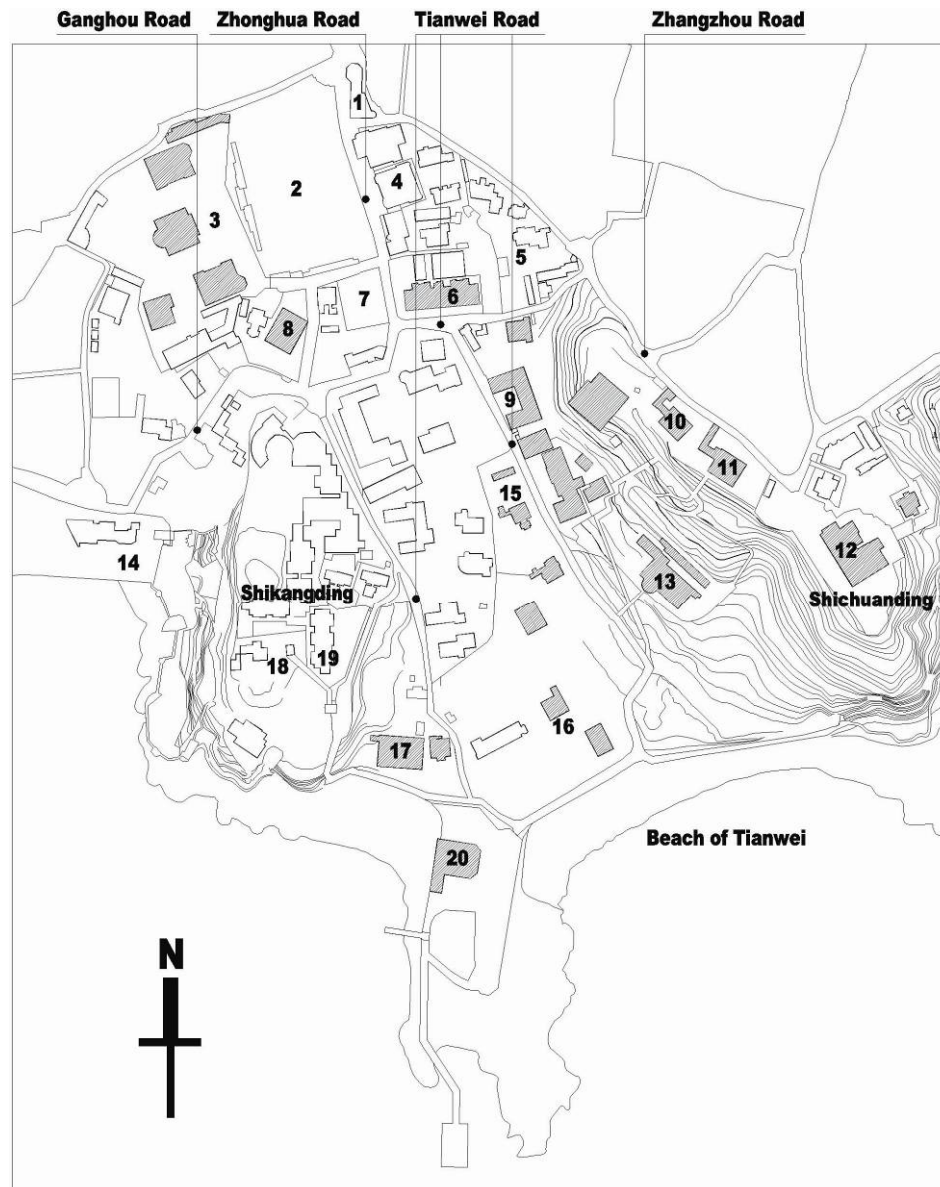
⁴² *Xiamen de zujie*, 8-9.

main entrance along Zhangzhou Road and its side entrance along the Beach of Tianwei. To its northeast was the “Broken Ground and Chinese Graves.” Its western boundary was shared with the properties of the Xiamen Customs (Hillcrest and Hillside) and the Amoy Club, whose site was formerly owned by the Japanese. The Tianwei Girls School of 1879 and the Tianwei Women School of 1886 occupied the northern end of Tianwei Road. And the lot at the opposite end of the road was owned by Messrs. Butterfield and Swire. The Great Northern Telegram Company had their office and residence along the beach. One of them was transferred to Huang Yizhu in 1926 and name as Guanhai Villa 观海别墅 [Sea View Villa].⁴³

During the Municipal Period, many Chinese owned properties at Tianwei. It is said that Huang Zhongxun had around thirteen houses in this area.⁴⁴ Two of them along the beach were rented to the French as their Consulate. Lin Erjia bought the lots at the western foot of Shikangding in 1910s and constructed the Shuzhuang Garden 菽庄花园 in 1913 to relive his imagery of his old garden in Taiwan – Banqiao Garden 板桥花园. This Chinese garden with its main entrance at Ganghou Road 港后路 was extended along the beach towards Guanhai Villa of his relative Huang Yizhou.

⁴³ Chen, “Huangxing yu Gulangyu de kaifa,” 24.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 23.



Map 4.10 Map of Tianwei (the hatched showing the heritage buildings in this area)

1. Xingxiangong; 2. Recreation Ground; 3. Garden of Huang Family (Huang Yizhou); 4. Xiamen Customs Club; 5. Wirrianda; 6. Sunnyside; 7. Masonic Lodge; 8. Properties of the Banqiao Lin Family; 9. Tianwei Girls School; 10. Hillcrest; 11. Hillview; 12. The British Consular Residence; 13. Amoy Club; 14. Shuzhuang Garden; 15. Tianwei Women School; 16. The French Consulate; 17. Properties of the Great Northern Telegram Company; 18. Beach House; 19. Fairview; 20. Guanhai Villa.

The urban state of Tianwei reflected the westerners' perception of the natural environment and their influence on the urban landscape. Differing from the Chinese, foreigners preferred to site their houses around the hills and along the beaches. Thus, they turned remote farmland into their ideal residential quarters. And most of these

foreign buildings were constructed before 1903. Thanks to their particular backgrounds, the influential Chinese, such as Huang Zhongxun, Huang Yizhu and Lin Erjia, expressed their liking for this area with excellent natural scene and participated in its development.

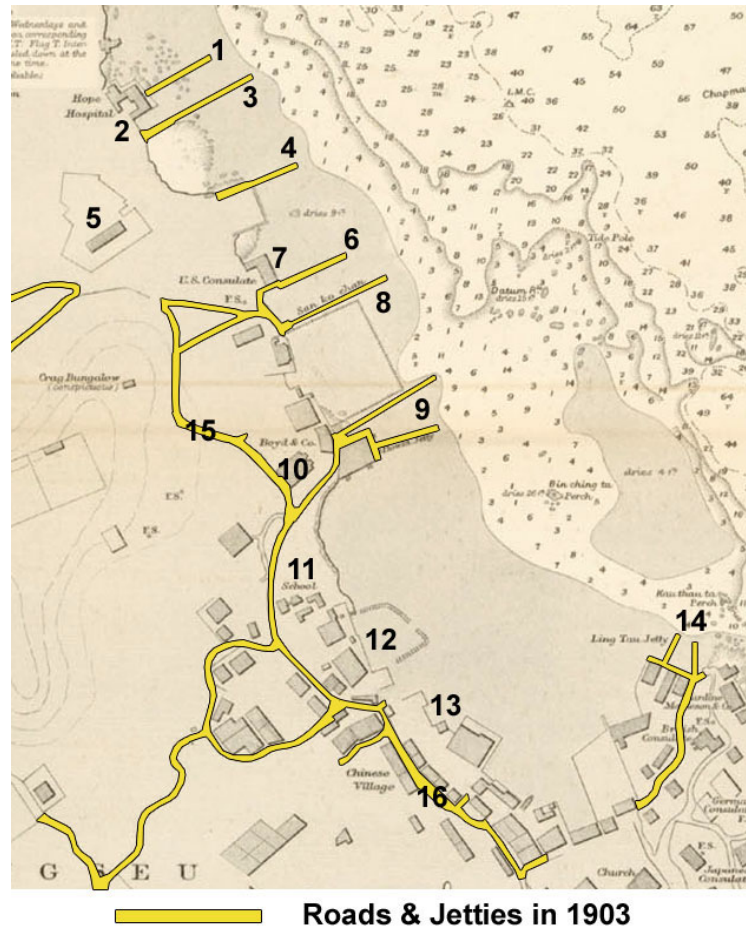
4.5 Eastern Shore

Being a part of the Inner Harbour, the 1600-metre-long eastern shore had undergone massive reclamation during the Municipal Period.⁴⁵ Its development showed how the old transport system was preserved and developed under the supervision of the Municipal Council. The old jetties had been built before 1903, around which many foreign buildings were concentrated. Local and foreign private individuals continued to construct their jetties and reclaimed the shore by themselves. Hence, the regular layout and modern planning on the reclaimed sites made the eastern shore different from other parts of Gulangyu. (Map 4.11 & 4.12)

On the north part of Gulangyu, there were two old jetties – the Hezaixia Jetty and Sanqiutian Jetty 三丘田码头 [San Koo Chan, Jetty of Three Pieces of Land]. At the end of the nineteenth century, many foreign buildings had been erected along the shore near these old jetties. Most of them had attached jetties. For example, north of Hezaixia Jetty was the missionary Hope and Willhemina Hospital built in 1898. It was also called Hezaixia Hospital by the locals and had its own stone pier. South of the Hezaixia Jetty was the jetty of the Xiamen Customs, who owned the nearby land since 1880s. After the Sunta Elisabeth was constructed in 1914, the Customs

⁴⁵ Chen Quanzhong, “Gulangyu dongbu haitan cangsang 鼓浪屿东部海滩沧桑 [History of the Eastern Shore on Gulangyu],” in GLYWSZL, vol. 9 (2002); 8.

reconstructed the jetty in 1917 and named it Zongxun Jetty.⁴⁶ To the north of the Gazetteer Jetty was the former Maritime Hospital. It was used as the American Consulate since 1893 and the shore in its front was reclaimed in the 1930s.⁴⁷

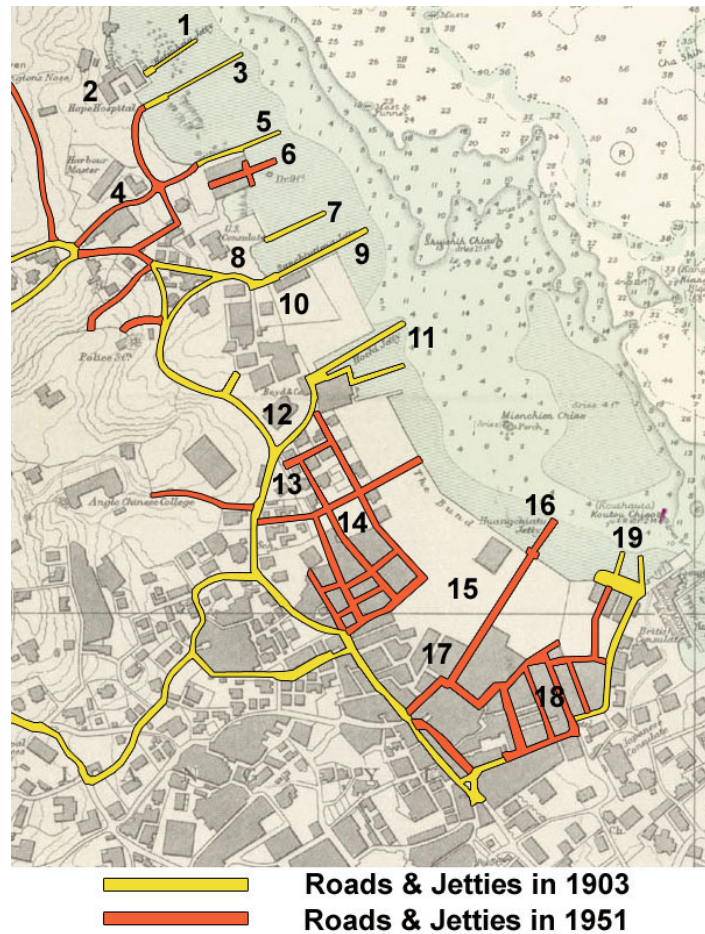


Map 4.11 Urban Structure of the Eastern Shore in 1903

1. Jetty of the Hope and Willhemina Hospital; 2. Hope and Willhemina Hospital; 3. Hezaixia Jetty; 4. Jetty of the Xiamen Customs; 5. Properties of the Xiamen Customs; 6. Jetty of the American Consulate; 7. The American Consulate; 8. Sanqiutian Jetty; 9. Heji Jetty; 10. Properties of Boyd & Co.; 11. Property of the E. P. M.; 12. Wudaijiao; 13. Tongshang Jetty; 14. Longtou Jetty; 15. Guxin Road; 16. Longtou Street.

⁴⁶ *Xiamen haiguan zhi*, 362.

⁴⁷ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 246-7.



Map 4.12 Urban Structure of the Eastern Shore in 1951

1. Jetty of the Hope and Willhemina Hospital; 2. Hope and Willhemina Hospital; 3. Hezaixia Jetty; 4. Properties of the Xiamen Customs; 5. Zongxun Jetty; 6. Zhongqian Jetty; 7. Jetty of the American Consulate; 8. The American Consulate; 9. Sanqiutian Jetty; 10. Properties of Wang Zaitian; 11. Heji Jetty; 12. Properties of Boyd & Co.; 13. Properties of the E. P. M.; 14. Fuzhou Road; 15. Huangjiadu; 16. Jetty of Huang Family; 17. Jinxiang Street; 18. Rixing Street; 19. Longtou Jetty.

To the south of the Sanqiutian Jetty and near Wudaijiao, Boyd & Co. 和记洋行 constructed houses, godowns and jetties in the middle of the nineteenth century. The jetties were called Heji Jetty 和记码头 [Ho Kee, Jetty for Boyd & Co.]. The residence for their Senior Staff was known as Chuantouhang. It was once leased to the Council as their offices. A steep path up the cliff was named Hejiqi 和记崎, where many foreign construction concentrated, including the earliest Fuyin Church, Guanlan Theological College, Fuyin Primary School and Chengbi Middle School, the house of

Rev. James Sadler. The Fuyin Primary School became Fumin Primary School in 1909 and also housed Fumin Vocational School in 1920. The latter was expanded in 1925 and 1937.⁴⁸

Local and overseas Chinese were the main forces in reclaiming the eastern shore during the Municipal Period. South of the Zongxun Jetty, a Filipino overseas Chinese Lin Yuzhong 林玉中 and his relative Hong Ziqian 洪子谦 constructed Zhongqian Jetty 中谦码头 in the beginning of the twentieth century. To the south of the Gazetteer Jetty, local merchant Wang Zaitian 王仔添 reclaimed a part of the beach to erect his godowns in 1927. The dock of Huang Xuzai at Wudaijiao was transferred to the Chinese Limin Real Estate Co. 利民房地产开发公司. It was called *Qigongsi* 七公司 [Seven Company], because of it had seven partners – the Filipino overseas Chinese brothers Su Gunan 苏谷南 and Su Gongnan 苏拱南, the local builders Lin Endian 林恩典, Lin Enci 林恩赐 and Wang Zhenlu 王振旅, as well as other two proprietors. With the authorization of the Municipal Council, they reclaimed the beach and developed a modern residential quarter called Fuzhou Road area. At that time, the major north-south roads were known as Hong Kong Road and Canton Road, and minor one, Lam Cheng Lane; the west-east one going up to the Hejiqi was called Swatow Road. The developers divided the land into several regular lots. Some of them were retained by the partners to construct their houses and the rest were sold to the public at the rate of 280 silver dollars per square *zhang*.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ He, “Kangzhanqian de fumin xiaoxue he minnan zhiye xuexiao,” 120-2; *Xiamen de zujie*, 51-2; Hong Buren 洪卜仁, He Bingzhong, and Bai Hua 白桦, eds. *Xiamen jiuying* 厦门旧影 [Old Photos of Xiamen] (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美术出版社, 1999), 66.

⁴⁹ Chen, “Gulangyu dongbu haitan cangsang,” 11-2.

The old semi-circular bay in front of today's Longtou Street was reclaimed by different individuals and became the most important commercial area on Gulangyu. The Tongshangju 通商局 [Foreign Affairs Bureau] was established in the middle portion of the Bay in 1871, which had a wooden ladder leading to the water. It was called Tongshang Jetty 通商码头 [Jetty of Trade] or Muti Jetty 木梯渡头 [Jetty of Wooden Ladder]. In 1924, Huang Yizhu reclaimed a part of the beach and developed it into Rixing Street 日兴街 together with many other properties. To its northwest, another Indonesian Overseas Chinese Guo Chunyang 郭春秧 initiated Jinxiang Street 锦祥街 in the same year. Later, Huang Zhongxun connected the Heji Jetty and the Dongfang Jetty 东方码头 [Oriental Jetty], a private jetty for Factory of Oriental Soda Drinks 东方汽水厂 founded in 1908.⁵⁰ He also built a concrete Jetty of Huang Family along the new bank. Since then, this area was christened Huangjiadu 黄家渡 [Jetty of Huang Family]. However, it was not developed for a long time due to bad compaction of reclaimed land. In the 1930s, Minchan gongsi 民产公司 [Company of Civic Property] set up a specific Minchan Jetty to transport manure.

Despite massive reclamation of the eastern shore, the old urban structure established in the early days had been retained, such as the roads leading to the Hezaixia (Ho-ah-eh) Jetty, Sanqiutian Jetty, Longtou (Ling Tow) Jetty, and the roads along the old shore. Many streets were built along the shores after land reclamation. However, they were also closely linked to the original urban network. This could be due to the fact that the primary urban structure originated from logical utilization of

⁵⁰ Peng Yiwang 彭一万, "Fayuanyu Gulangyu de taohua datong gongsi 发源于鼓浪屿的淘化大同公司 [The Amoy Tinning Company Founded on Gulangyu]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 8 (2002): 31-3.

the natural environment. The arrival of the foreign powers did not destroy the urban structure. Instead, they tried to obtain land close to the jetties in order to benefit from the existing transport system. Meanwhile, the reclamation of the eastern shore also reflected the influence of private efforts in urban construction and the supervision of the Municipal Council.

Summary

Although a large number of eclectic buildings emerged on Gulangyu during the Municipal Period and typified a construction boom in its history - the original road network had been maintained despite the addition of new roads after 1903. It could be due to the rationality of the early transportation system that respected the natural environment. The second reason is the insistence and continuity of the Chinese social structure. Although the old neighbourhoods faced great challenges, the urban structure were not destroyed and most of the changes took place at the periphery, where the lots were traded according to traditional land exchange system. The roles this system played in directing the urban transformation will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Being the group with substantial capital and desire to purchase land and settle their families, the returning overseas Chinese were largely involved in the urban development of Gulangyu. On one hand, with their Fujian background with the same custom as the locals, they entered the Chinese settlements and introduced new concepts to traditional space. On the other hand, their long-time overseas experience and familiarity of western living style led them to appreciate the foreigners' land parcels and their western houses. In fact, after the economy of Xiamen declined in the

beginning of the twentieth century, many foreigners left the port and transferred their properties to the Chinese.

With the formation of the new civic center at Lingjiao, the areas away from the old Chinese settlements were massively reclaimed, such as the Shulanghuajiao and Lizzhizhai, etc. It reflects the influence of the new power centre on the urban transformation. However, like the large-scale reclamation of the eastern shore, most of the works were done by missions and private individuals. The Municipal Council did not really invest or engaged in the urban constructions for some reasons. The ways in which and the extent to which different groups affected the urban transformation of Gulangyu during the Municipal Period will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Developing an International Settlement

From two hundred to two hundred and fifty foreigners reside here in very comfortable homes; and since the inauguration of the Municipal Council's regulations these homes have been placed under vastly improved conditions. Kolongsu is not only the residence of foreigners. There are natives in evidence on every hand. On this same island, perhaps a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, there are three distinct Chinese villages with a combined population of 7,000 or 8,000 persons.¹

Philip Pitcher. *In and about Amoy*. 1912.

According to Pitcher, “for situation and natural attractions,” Gulangyu in the 1910s “was unsurpassed anywhere along this entire coast.”² Gulangyu International Settlement was established on 21st November, 1902, when the Land Regulations and Bye-laws for the Settlement were finally approved by the Qing Court and the Diplomatic Body in Beijing. As a consequence of the long negotiation between the Chinese Government and the colonial powers, these two laws were regarded as the Constitution and the basic Rules for the Settlement respectively. (Appendix 2, 3)

According to the Regulations, the Settlement was designed to be jointly supervised by local authorities and the foreign powers. Hence, a typical semi-colonial administration system was set up on Gulangyu. On one hand, the Consular Body, the Meeting of Ratepayers, the Council Board, and the Municipal Council constituted the colonial administration. On the other hand, the Chinese Government set up a Mixed

¹ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 256.

² Ibid., 256.

Court to maintain jurisdiction and controlled of the land to retain territorial sovereignty on Gulangyu. Due to the complicated power relationship and complex local context, all these forces interlocked and directed the development of this international settlement. The urban transformation of Gulangyu during the Municipal Period showcased how Western urban management was carried out in a Chinese context with particular political, economic, social and cultural background.

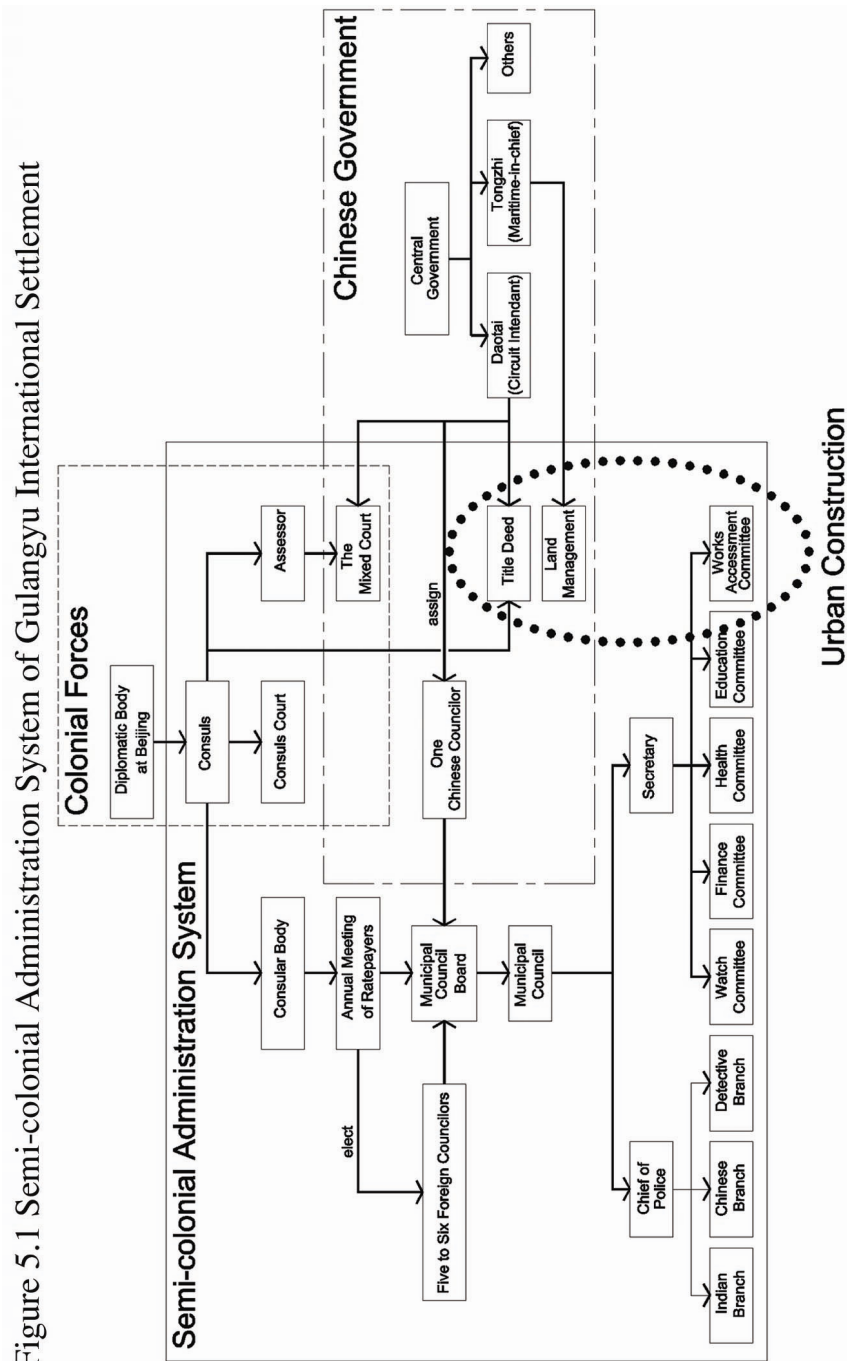
5.1 Land Regulations and Administration Structure

Municipal Administration

The municipal administration on Gulangyu borrowed the colonial experience in other concessions and settlements in modern China, especially Shanghai, etc. However, being an international settlement opened to foreign countries, the administrative situation on Gulangyu was more complicated than in others settlements. (Figure 5.1) Representing the interest of different colonial powers, the Consular Body was on the top of the administration structure in the Settlement. It consisted of the consuls at Xiamen, and the Senior Consul was in charge of chairing the Meeting of Ratepayers. This chair was usually taken by the longest serving consul or one having the highest official title.

The Annual Meeting of Ratepayers was an important channel, through which foreign residents participated in the municipal administration and supervised the Municipal Council. Chaired by the Senior Consul, it was held in the last week of every January. In the meeting, the Council reported their work for the previous year

and plan for that year.³ Meanwhile, the new Council Board was to be elected by ratepayers. When necessary, special meeting could be arranged by the Senior Consul to handle issues that were not provided for at the Annual General Meeting.



³ The Council usually published an annual report after the Meeting. It collected reports of different committees, resolutions passed in the Annual Meeting, as well as expenditure and revenue of the previous year and budget for that year. Thus, the Annual Reports provided ample information on the council's works in each year.

However, resolutions raised in these meetings could only be implemented when approved by the Consular Body. As Lerey Webber said, “the acts of the council are subject to a certain amount of control by the consular body.”⁴ The Consular Body was further supervised by the Diplomatic Body and their Representatives in Beijing. Hence, any resolution damaging the interest of their countries would be intervened or rejected by the consuls. The municipal administration had to consider the power relationship among the colonial powers, which no doubt circumstanced the development of the Settlement.

According to the Regulations, five to six foreigners and one Chinese gentleman constituted the Council Board. The former was elected by the ratepayers and the latter was appointed by *daotai*. These honourary councillors were to appoint officials and servants for the Council, and at the same time to supervise their works. Because it was impossible to assess proper voting qualifications, the first six foreign Councilors were appointed by the Consular Body on March 16th, 1903. But the Chinese post in the first Council Board was vacant due to the difficulty of finding a suitable English speaking Chinese to take up this appointment.⁵ In the following year, Huang Zanzhou 黄赞周, a former Supervisor for the Academic Institute in Fuzhou, was assigned to be the first Chinese Councilor. He was on this post from 1904 to 1908, succeeded by Lin Erjia from 1909 to 1922.

Hence, the Council Board was in essence a body of the Western and Chinese elites sharing similar ideas. It guaranteed the operation of the Settlement along

⁴ Webber, “Amoy Consular District,” 553.

⁵ U. S. Vice-Consul-in-charge, Letter to Assistant Secretary of State, 3 April 1903, in *American Despatches*.

Western ideas of municipal governance. In fact, only foreigners possessing any of the three qualifications specified in the Regulations could be considered as eligible voters, and those with higher qualifications could be nominated as councilors. Meanwhile, the Chinese councilor was not only respected by the Chinese and trusted by the local authorities, but also admired by the foreign community. For instance, as Bowra praised, Lin Erjia – “one of the richest men in China,” had “gained many distinctions from the Government and held a very prominent place in the social and commercial life of Amoy.” Moreover, he was appreciated by the foreign community for his knowledge of the West.⁶

However, although the Chinese were the majority and main ratepayers in the Settlement, they were excluded from the municipal administration. According to the Regulations, the term “foreign” was defined as “persons not of Chinese race and excluded persons of that race who may by birth or naturalization abroad have become the subjects of foreign countries.” Neither the native Chinese nor the Chinese with foreign subjects could be appointed to the Meeting of Ratepayers. Opposed by the Chinese, this policy no doubt constrained the administration of the Council and the development of the Settlement.

The institute in charge of managing the Settlement, the Municipal Council, had two instruments – the police force under the Chief of Police and the civil office under the Secretary. The former had three branches, namely the Indian Branch, the Chinese Branch and the Detective Branch, whose duty was to maintain peace and order in the

⁶ Bowra, “Amoy,” 822-4.

Settlement.⁷ The latter initially had three committees comprised of the Watch Committee for protecting the public safety, the Finance Committee for collecting rates, taxes and fines, and the Works Committee for repairing roads, drains, planting, etc. The Works Committee was renamed Works-Assessment Committee in 1923, and the Health Committee was set up to ensure public health in that year. Two years later, the Education Committee was established to improve local education.

Following the Bye-laws of 1902, the Council aimed to create an orderly and sanitary environment on Gulangyu. Although the composition of the Council and the content of the Bye-laws did not differ much from those of other concessions and settlements, the Gulangyu municipal administration showed the consideration of local context in their duties. According to the Regulations, subject to the approval of the Consular Body in each case, the Council had the right to establish, promulgate, revise and amend the Bye-laws. The initial twenty-article Bye-laws were adjusted in the practice. As a result, the revised Regulations and forty eight revised bye-laws were formulated and sent to Beijing for sanction in 1919.⁸ (Appendix 4, 5)

Jurisdiction and Territorial Sovereignty

Although many concessions and international settlements were set up in China, the Chinese government never gave up their control of these areas, especially the jurisdiction and territorial sovereignty. However, due to the lack of knowledge of international laws, the Chinese jurisdiction in these areas had been intervened by colonial powers.⁹ Along the lines of the International Settlement of Shanghai, the

⁷ In the early days, the members of the Police Force were Indian Sikhs. After 1917, the Council recruited policemen from Weihaiwei and Shangdong. Later, the natives also joined the force.

⁸ B. G. Tours, Dispatch to John Jordan, 31 July 1919, PRO, FO228: 3470.

⁹ Gu, *Zhujie yu zhongguo*, 25.

Mixed Court was set up on May 1st, 1903 as a Special Court to deal with criminal and civil cases where the Chinese citizens were defendants. This solely Chinese institute represented the Chinese jurisdiction in the Settlement, whose magistrate and staff were appointed by the *daotai* and Foreign Board of Fujian, and their financial outlay was also provided by the Chinese Government.

In fact, the Mixed Court was not a new institute on Gulangyu. As early as 1871, the Foreign Affairs Office 通商公所 had been set up to handle Sino-Foreign issues.¹⁰ With the addition of a small police force in 1887, it was renamed as *baogongsuo* 保公所. At the end of the nineteenth century, it became the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 洋务局. This organization continued to operate after one of its offices turned into the Mixed Court in 1903, and was renamed as the Foreign Affairs Bureau 交涉署 on October 30th, 1910. The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs had equal position with the Consuls. The post was taken over by the Superintendent of the Xiamen Customs after 1913.¹¹

However, the power of the Mixed Court was limited and the mixed jurisdiction existed on Gulanyu. First of all, its juridical power was confined within cases where Chinese were the defendants, while foreigners enjoyed the status of extraterritoriality and having consular jurisdiction in the Settlement. When dealing with Sino-Foreign cases, the Mixed Court could not work without a foreign assessor who was a relevant Consul or an officer deputed by him. If dissenting from the judge of the Mixed Court,

¹⁰ Wu Yangrong 吴仰荣, comp. "Gulangyu lishi dangan (erze) 鼓浪屿历史档案(二则) [Two pieces of archival documents on Gulangyu]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 4 (1999): 167-9.

¹¹ Yu, Zhang, and Zeng, "Gulangyu lunwei gongong zujie de jingguo," 269; Chen, "Gulangyu huishen gongtang," 27-8; Xiamen de zujie, 25-6.

the assessor could appeal to a higher Court consisting of the *daotai* and the assessor himself.

Secondly, the foreign extritoriality on Gulangyu was extended to the Chinese having certain relationship with foreigners. Without the warrant countersigned by the Consul, the Mixed Court could not arrest or summon any foreigner or the Chinese residing on foreign premises. Even the Chinese in foreign employ not residing on foreign premises could not be arrested without informing the Consul. Moreover, the special regulations for the procedure of the Mixed Court should be consulted with the Consular Body. Meanwhile, serious civil or criminal cases should be transferred to the territorial officials in Xiamen.

In fact, Gulangyu had jurisdiction problem due to conservative foreign policies of the Qing after the Opium Wars. Although a Chinese police force was set up on Gulangyu before 1903, they “had no authority to enter a single Foreign house, and dared not to arrest any Chinaman that professed to be associated, even in a loose way, with any Foreign resident, lest they should get into trouble.” As the Xiamen Customs reported, “it is an undoubted fact that wherever there is a considerable collection of Foreigners in any place the lawlessness of that locality will before long increase.”¹² However, because Gulangyu was ceded to the colonial powers by the Qing Court, the Chinese government had more control of the jurisdiction in this settlement than in the Shanghai International Settlement.¹³ In fact, the establishment of the Municipal Police force and their cooperation with the Mixed Court and the Consuls Court to

¹² Decennial Reports (1892-1901), 131-2.

¹³ Lou Tongsun 楼桐孙, *Zujie wenti* 租界问题 [Concession problems], in Wanyou wenku 万有文库 [Wanyou repository], vol. 11000, ed. Wang Yunwu 王云五 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 1933), 47.

certain extent improved social order on the island. As Bowra described, a mixed jurisdiction existed in the Settlement.

*There is a Mixed Court Magistrate, appointed by the Chinese authorities, who deals with charges brought by the Council or others against Chinese on the island, while foreign offenders are dealt with by their own Consuls. The Council employs a foreign superintendent of police, who is also secretary to the Council, and a small force of Sikh police.*¹⁴

The Chinese government's control of land and the maintenance of the existing land exchange system were two important factors affecting the urban formation of this Settlement. As the Regulations stated, the Emperor of China was the Lord of the Land and the Chinese territorial sovereignty was retained on Gulangyu. Before taking any building activity, proposed site must be certified by the Chinese Government to obtain "a clear and undisputable title."¹⁵ Consequently, the land exchange system embodying Chinese traditions and indigenous customs had great effect on land utilization and urban transformation. It will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Meanwhile, the Council was authorized to manage all public roads, jetties, cemeteries, public land and buildings in the Settlement. For instance, after signing the Water Supply Agreement with the Xiamen Waterworks Company, the Council informed the ratepayers their liability in respect of a parcel of public land at Jiguan Hill at the 1930 Annual Meeting of Ratepayers. Subsequently, they leased the lot to the Company for the construction of the Main Storage Reservoir.¹⁶ Moreover, the

¹⁴ Bowra, "Amoy," 814.

¹⁵ Annual Report: 1932, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 3.

¹⁶ Kulangsu Municipal Council, Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1929, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1930 (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1930,) General Report, p. 4. (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1929)

Council could require and purchase land for public purposes.¹⁷ In order to improve electric service in the Settlement, the Oriental Canning Corporation was required to transfer a plot of land to the Council in 1933, which was then leased to the Kulangsu Chunghua Electric Company 鼓浪屿中华电气公司.¹⁸

Although the Council managed the public utilities, land transactions and constructions in the Settlement were mainly influenced by the Chinese Government's control of land, private landholders and renters, real estate market, and rules of the land exchange system. On the contrary, municipal works and the Council's supervision of building activities had more relationship with public safe and hygiene but less influence on the urban structure.

5.2 Bye-laws and Municipal Governance

Guided by the Bye-laws, the Council was concerned with the sanitation of the Settlement, including collecting and disposing garbage and ordure, cleansing and disinfecting streets and drains, supervising building activities, and qualifying commodities for human consumption, etc. Thus, their operation directly affected people's daily life and changed the Chinese public concept of public hygiene. However, it is worth noticing that the municipal works paid much attention to improve existing environment instead of creating a new one.

¹⁷ According to the Regulations, in case that the proprietor was unwilling to sell or surrender the land and the Council considered necessary to acquire it for the public interest, the Consuls Court would deal with the case. If the appeal of the Council was contented, the Court would call for evidence to determine the values of the land and required the owner to sell it for the public interests.

¹⁸ Kulangsu Municipal Council, Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1933, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1934 (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1934,) Municipal Report, p. 8. (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1933)

Removing Garbage and Ordure

The fundamental work concerned by the Council was how to efficiently remove garbage and ordure injurious to the public health. Employed by the Council, coolies collected refuse door to door at fixed hour. One more daily service was provided in crowded areas. Moreover, streets and foot pavements were cleansed every day. Daily garbage was “loaded from the central garbage dump on junks and consigned to the sea at a suitable distance from the Settlement.”¹⁹

Because there was no modern sewage disposal system in the Settlement, the Council engaged a company to collect ordure at fixed time from house to house. However, since ordure was used as fertilizer in rural areas and had market value, the Ordure Removal account became an income for the Council instead of a kind of expenditure. Moreover, to prevent possible pollution in the process of disposing ordure, the Council required the contractor to use proper utensils, pails, carts and carriages with covering.²⁰ Then, ordure was removed out of the Settlement and shipped to neighbouring areas daily.

These detailed rules were observed by the Council. For example, anyone obstructing authorized cleaners to cleanse refuse or willfully contaminating environment would be severely fined. Moreover, the Council had the right of requiring owners or occupiers to whitewash, cleanse, or purify filthy or unwholesome houses, drains, privies or cesspools. After implementing these practices for many years, not only was sanitation improved in the Settlement, but also the concept of

¹⁹ Kulangsu Municipal Council, Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1931, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1932 (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1932,) Health Committee’s Report, p. 1. (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1931)

²⁰ Annual Report: 1929, Health Committee’s Report, p. 1; Annual Report: 1933, Health Committee’s Report, p.6.

public hygiene was fostered on Gulangyu. As the annual reports said, “the practice of throwing garbage into the public road had ceased, although garbage was still be deposited in certain corners at night despite the prosecution of the police.”²¹

However, the operation of the efficient disposal system relied much on a stable political, economic, and social environment. For example, when bandit ravaged neighbouring areas, sailing of junks was discontinued and the ordure removal service was interrupted.²² The poor state of local agriculture also affected the need of ordure and the engagement of ordure contractors.²³ When the Japanese occupation of Xiamen in 1938 isolated Gulangyu from the rest of the world for a fortnight, the shipment of ordure boats was stopped during that time.²⁴

Improving Drainage System

Maintaining and improving drainage system was one of the main public works during the Municipal Period. All public sewers and drains in the Settlement were owned and managed by the Council, which included the inspection and supervision of private drains' sanitation. The Council not only had the right of opening, changing and demolishing public sewers and drains to satisfy practical needs, but also was authorized to carry these works through all streets and to enter land to maintain the drainage system.

²¹ Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1930, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1931* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1931,) Health Committee's Report, p. 1. (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1930)

²² Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1931, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1932* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1932,) Health Committee's Report, p. 2. (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1931)

²³ Annual Report: 1933, Municipal Report, p. 3.

²⁴ Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1938, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1939* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1939,) 20 (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1938)

As the Annual Reports indicated, a general drainage system was completed in 1936, when drain works were diverted from main roads to side lanes.²⁵ However, the drainage system was set up on the ground of the original urban structure to serve the existing areas. For example, a new system of large drains was constructed at the Longtou district in 1923, where a large concrete underground drain was laid along the Longtou Street. In the same year, the central drain at Tianwei and a large drain at Neicuoao were reconstructed.²⁶ Due to the sinking of the entire valley soil strata, the main drain at Tianwei was reconstructed in 1932. A large concrete drain was constructed across the new reclamation at the Xin Jetty in 1932.²⁷

The Council aimed to improve efficiency of the drainage system. On one hand, they “periodically checked the existing underground drains and constructed more manholes to facilitate repairs and attention.”²⁸ In 1937, “the underground drainage system had been completely cleared of all silt and the system of manholes had also completed; All large underground drains were allowed to be entered and those of smaller size were kept entirely free of obstructions.”²⁹ On the other hand, considering the pollution of open drains, a flushing and disinfecting system was introduced and chloride of lime was extensively used as an efficient and inexpensive disinfectant. In 1930, the Council considered installing a dedicated water supply service at certain points in order to regularly flush and disinfect drains.³⁰ Since 1931, all drains in the

²⁵ Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1936, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1937* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1937,) 15 (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1936)

²⁶ Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1923, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1924* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1924,) 19 (hereafter cited as Annual Report: 1923)

²⁷ Annual Report: 1932, Health Committee’s Report, p.1.

²⁸ Annual Report: 1931, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p.1.

²⁹ Annual Report: 1937, 14.

³⁰ Annual Report: 1930, Health Committee’s Report, p.1.

congested areas were washed down with water and disinfectant two or three times a week.³¹ For the crowded Longtou District, 4,000-gallon chloridized water was pumped from the Service Well to hydrant points for use every other day in 1937.³²

Consequently, except some slum areas, most of the drains in the Settlement were systematically washed down and treated with a strong solution of disinfectant since 1936.³³

Moreover, the Council tried to prevent the existing drainage system from being damaged by individuals' building activities. They required the plan of new building or reconstruction to include drainage system in the premise. The proposed site must be raised to the level of the centre of the nearest public road. And the relevant details must be approved by the Council. Then, the private drainage would be linked with public sewers under necessary guidance. More important, the owner must raise and drain "all alleyways leading to or adjoining the proposed buildings."³⁴ Thus, the Council partially assigned the work of improving the drainage system to the private sector and relieved their financial burden.

Maintaining Roads and Jetties

The discussion of the urban transformation of Gulangyu before and after 1903 shows the preservation of the original urban structure, especially the roads and jetties. In fact, the municipal works in the Settlement concentrated on facilitating the existing transportation system and introducing new technology to improve it. In other words,

³¹ Annual Report: 1931, Health Committee's Report, p.1.

³² Annual Report: 1937, 8.

³³ Annual Report: 1936, 16.

³⁴ Annual Report: 1932, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p.2.

the aim of the Council was to utilize the existing urban structure instead of the creation of a new one.

First of all, being the only authorized surveyor and owner of all public roads in the Settlement, the Council was concerned about the safety, convenience and sanitary of public roads. Without official permission, no one could obstruct, take up or make any alternation in public roads, foot-paths, as well as pavements, flags, and other materials of public streets. When the construction work was in process, the road should be closed for a reasonable time for the safety of the public. If private constructions interfered with public roads, the owner was required to place hoardings or scaffoldings round the building. Any activity affecting the hygiene of public roads was forbidden, such as wrangling cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, goats and poultry on public roads, etc. Moreover, the maintenance of sanitation of the public roads was also assigned to residents, who were required to sweep and cleanse the roads in front of their properties, as well as the gutters and surface drains around their premises.

Secondly, the Council tried to improve the efficiency existing roads. In the past, the roads on Gulangyu had been finished with a well-pounded mixture of lime and sand, which were economical in first cost, but were easily damaged by heavy rains. “With the increasing cost of labor and the approaching exhaustion of the supply of free soil, this kind of road became less satisfactory, both in first cost and maintenance.” From 1921 to 1923, the Council carried out several experiments and concluded that ordinary dirt roads could be successfully water-proofed and rendered semi-permanent by the application of a thin coating of asphalt. This treatment was relatively cheap and lasting, which made a road “easy to walk, free from excessive

glare, and comparatively dustless.”³⁵ Hence, the Council gradually resurfaced public roads with applying a water-proof asphalt seal coat on a sound lime and soil base.³⁶

The old jetties were maintained or made serviceable during the Municipal Period. For example, the Sanqiutian Jetty and the Heji Jetty were repaired in 1923, and the landing of the Longtou Jetty was changed into concrete in the same year.³⁷ The small public jetty at Hezaixia was enlarged and the landing road rebuilt in 1932.³⁸ And in 1933, the Council started to construct a new modern concrete jetty at Longtou, which was planned by the Netherlands Harbour Works Company.³⁹ Promoted by the Public Works Department of Xiamen, the upgraded Xiamen-Gulangyu Ferry Service was placed in operation in 1937.⁴⁰

Thirdly, the Council also guided the reconstruction of roads in consequence of building activities.⁴¹ At the same time, they tried to ease the use of public roads. The street lights were increased from 150 in 1913 to 313 in 1937. Moreover, not only were trees planted along the public roads, but also the new street signages were placed on all roads junctions in 1933. And the work of re-numbering and zoning all the

³⁵ Annual Report: 1923, 17.

³⁶ In 1923, 70.10% of the roads on Gulangyu were remetalled with loose earth covering, 9.55% pounded with lime, sand and soil, 5.98% with cement covering, and 14.37% with asphalt surface. Approximately 70,000 pounds of asphalt was used in 1931, 54,000 pounds in 1933, 60,000 pounds in 1935, 45,000 pounds in 1936, and 42,000 pounds in 1937. In 1938, although about 300 yards of new asphalt roads were constructed and approximately 22,000 pounds of asphalt was expended, the extreme poor economy limited a great proportion of this work and only 40% of roads showing extensive signs of wear were resurfaced. Annual Report: 1923, 17-9; Annual Report: 1930, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1; Annual Report: 1931, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1; Annual Report: 1933, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1; Annual Report: 1936, 11; Annual Report: 1937, 11; Annual Report: 1938, 11.

³⁷ Annual Report: 1923, 21.

³⁸ Annual Report: 1932, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1.

³⁹ Annual Report: 1933, 5.

⁴⁰ Annual Report: 1937, 6.

⁴¹ Annual Report: 1932, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1.

properties was taken to facilitate the re-assessment and the erection of new buildings.⁴²

The municipal works on Gulangyu show that the original urban structure was respected and utilized much during the Municipal Period. Either the drainage or road network was developed from existing system. The Council adopted new technologies to improve the drainage system and transportation system. Thus, they could advance old systems with less cost. This is an efficient mode for developing a small enclave like Gulangyu with little industrial and commercial sources.

Supervising Buildings Activities

During the Municipal Period, building activities were strictly controlled by the Council who were concerned about the public safety and sanitation in constructions. For example, any projection obstructing the safe and convenient passage along the road or street must be removed or altered. Thus, the porch, verandah, shed, projecting window, step, sign, wall, gate, and fence, etc. must be carefully planned to prevent any damage to the public. Even the falling water from the houses adjoining or near to any street must be collected and not to fall upon the passerby. Moreover, at the cost of the owners, the Council could take down, repair and rebuild the constructions ruinous and dangerous to the public. The use of wood and other inflammable building materials were prohibited after 1932.⁴³

The Council controlled building activities in the Settlement through issuing building permit. According to a notification published on 10th September, 1932,

⁴² Annual Report: 1933, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1.

⁴³ Annual Report: 1933, 4.

people must submit a series of documents to apply for a building permit. First of all, they must submit the detailed ground floor, section and elevation plans, as well as a site plan marking the boundaries, means of access to the site and distance from adjoining buildings, public roads, lanes and footpaths, etc. Meanwhile, they were also required to submit details of the design to ease the application, such as the thickness of all walls and foundations, the area and height of each room, door, window and passageway, the complete proposed drainage system, the level of building site with relation to the nearest public road, footpath or alleyways, the proposed materials used in the construction, etc.⁴⁴

Hence, it is not difficult to see that the Council was concerned about the safety and sanitation of buildings than their urban distribution. In fact, the latter was directed by the land exchange system and individual preferences of landholders. Moreover, the existing data on the Council did not show any trace of urban planning during the Municipal Period, which not only implies the limited power of the Council, but also indicates the necessity of using the original urban structure on Gulangyu.

The existing records of building permits and building permit fee during the Municipal Period showed the state of urban construction in different years. It also reflected the urban construction on Gulangyu, which was largely affected by the unstable social situation in the surrounding areas. (Figure 5.2) Owing to unstable state of neighbouring districts, the influx of refugees led to extensive building operations from 1923 to 1925. But the building boom was unhealthy due to the high

⁴⁴ Annual Report: 1932, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 2..

un-occupancy on completion.⁴⁵ When municipal reformation in Xiamen attracted capital and professional builders at the end of the 1920s, building activities on Gulangyu consequently reduced.⁴⁶ The real estate market recovered in 1931 and property prices rose slightly.⁴⁷ Political changes in Xiamen once again led to the influx of refugees and the dearth of houses in 1933.⁴⁸ Despite the economic depression in 1936, the building activity on Gulangyu “had continued to a modified degree.”⁴⁹ However, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 stopped this recovery and “all building activities ceased throughout 1938 when the Japanese occupied Xiamen.”⁵⁰

Figure 5.2 Building Permits and Building Permit Fee Collected in 1920s and 30s

Year	Building Permits	Building Permit Fee Collected (\$)
1922	105	6433.8
1923	98	4481.5
1929	69	1539.5
1930	64	1295.5
1931	107	2409
1932	92	2822.38
1933	105	2720.45
1934	174	4070.75
1935	116	2240.85
1936	92	1395.1
1937	44	478
1938	6	52

The Annual Reports also show that the urban construction on Gulangyu largely relied on private effort instead of the Council. For instance, the area destroyed by the fire of 1933 had been entirely rebuilt in 1936. At the same time, large building

⁴⁵ Annual Report: 1923, 21; Annual Report: 1931, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Annual Report: 1930, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Annual Report: 1931, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Annual Report: 1933, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 7.

⁴⁹ Annual Report: 1936, 13.

⁵⁰ Annual Report: 1938, 12.

projects near the public market had been completed and a great improvement was noticeable in the Central Area. However, the expenditure of the Council in that year did not show any trace of the Council's investment in these projects.⁵¹ In other words, private effort was the main impetus in the urban development of Gulangyu. It was guided and supported by the Council that provided necessary infrastructure.

For many reasons, natural environment of Gulangyu was to a great extent preserved during the Municipal Period. Traditionally, local people had particular custom of respecting rocks, hills and water. Practically, the Council also paid attention to enhance the amenities of this island due to the residential essence of this Settlement. For example, they tried to preserve rocks as an important natural landscape. Without permission of the Council, no person could quarry, cut, engrave, or blast rocks or stones in the Settlement, and no commercial advertisement was allowed to deface any rock in any manner. At the same time, the Council set up public gardens and planted trees in barren areas and undeveloped properties. The open spaces at Lak-Kee-Tah and Giam-Ah-Kar were transformed into public gardens in 1929. They were maintained in a satisfactory condition and were open to the community.⁵² And the largest garden at Giam Ah Kar had been extended and improved in 1936 and 1937.⁵³ The program of planting trees every spring was initiated by the Council in the middle of the 1930s. Consequently, the cost of tree planting became a regular expenditure of the Council.⁵⁴ In 1933, the Council even

⁵¹ Annual Report: 1936, Statement of Expenditure and Revenue, from 1st January to 31st December, 1936.

⁵² Annual Report: 1929, Works Assessment Committee's Report, p. 1.

⁵³ Annual Report: 1936, 7; Annual Report: 1937, 8.

⁵⁴ Annual Report: 1936, 7; Annual Report: 1937, 14.

promoted owners of undeveloped property to plant trees “in proportion to the area under their control.”⁵⁵

Because Gulangyu International Settlement was a pure residential area, the administration of the Council was different from those in Shanghai and other treaty ports. To provide a safe and healthy living environment was the first consideration in the Council’s operation. Hence, it is not surprising to see their keenness in preserving the natural environment. At the same time, owing to the lack of commercial activities on this tiny island, the Council could not raise enough funds to support any urban planning in the Settlement. Not only were the building activities conducted by inhabitants, so too were the public utilities invested and managed by private efforts.

Supporting Public Utilities

In the beginning of the twentieth century, modern public utilities, such as electric light service, water works, telephone service and public market, etc. were introduced to Gulangyu. However, the Council did not invest in these public projects. Instead, they engaged private companies for these works through issuing franchises and supervising services. The establishment and operation of these public utilities once again highlight the role that the Council played in modernizing the Settlement.

The electric light service on Gulangyu started on 20th August, 1913, after the Council issued a franchise to the Shanghai Electric & Asbestos Company, Ltd. However, the service had been unsatisfactory for many years. John Richards & Co.

⁵⁵ Annual Report: 1933, 4.

Ltd. took over this work from 1921 to 1926.⁵⁶ However, the situation did not change much until the Council signed the Electric Light Agreement with the Chinese Kulangsu Chunghua Electric Company in 1928.⁵⁷ At the request of the Council, the Company ordered a new generating unit on 15th August 1932. It largely improved the electric light service in the Settlement starting from 1933.⁵⁸

Before installing modern waterworks, the water on Gulangyu was mainly supplied by shallow wells. For many years, the Council was searching for water sources and proper ways to collect water. For example, they tried to construct an artesian well. But it failed in 1910 after spending lots of money.⁵⁹ The Council had to regulate that new buildings must be equipped with wells and rainwater tanks in proportion to the roof area to collect all roof-water. And the Works-Assessment Committee visited every site to check their water source before issuing a building permit. However, these actions could not solve the problem fundamentally. In August and September of 1923, the Council had to stop granting building permits owing to the fear of drought. The development of the Settlement was constrained by the shortage of pure and adequate water supply.⁶⁰

Hence, the Council passed several resolutions in 1929 to initiate the public waterworks. Finally, they signed an agreement with Xiamen Waterworks Company on 13th May, 1929. This overseas Chinese holding company started water supply scheme in June of 1929 and completed most of the works in August of 1931. Since

⁵⁶ Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Ratepayers held on 30th January, 1920* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office, 1920.) (hereafter cited as *Minutes of the Annual Meeting: 1920*)

⁵⁷ Annual Report: 1933, 8.

⁵⁸ Annual Report: 1932, General Report, p. 6; Annual Report: 1936, 7.

⁵⁹ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 152.

⁶⁰ Annual Report: 1923, 5, 21-2.

then, the main streets on Gulangyu were laid with water pipes. It was regarded as “a great boon to the Settlement.”⁶¹ The water supply service was “entirely satisfactory” and was further extended into the Neicuoao District.⁶² Meanwhile, the Council encouraged residents to use pure and sanitary water.⁶³

In the early twentieth century, Lin Erjia ran a telephone company in Xiamen, and a Japanese telephone firm provided limited service on Gulangyu.⁶⁴ The situation was changed in 1923 when Huang Yizhu combined these two companies to become the Xiamen Telephone Company. He signed the Telephone Agreement with the Council in 1924 and obtained a ten-year sole right for installing public telephone service in the Settlement. With the support of the Council, the Company increased telephone subscription rates in 1928 and 1931 respectively and installed new efficient equipment to provide satisfactory service.⁶⁵ After obtaining the right of renewing the franchise, the Company further provided an Automatic Telephone Service in 1933.⁶⁶

Another public work promoted by the Council and implemented by private effort was the establishment of the public market. Local people sold goods along streets or near jetties, which was criticized by the Council as “very detrimental to sanitary

⁶¹ Annual Report: 1929, Municipal Report, p.1-2; Annual Report: 1930, Water Supply Agreement, p.1-3; 1929; Annual report, 1931, Municipal Report, p.2.

⁶² Annual Report: 1936, 7.

⁶³ A notification was issued on 15th December, 1932. It required all new residential and commercial buildings to be connected to the established water supply service mains, except those out of the water works servicing areas. Annual Report: 1932, General Report, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Kawakita Denki Kigyosha took over the Japanese firm in 1918 and was permitted by the Council to use the public roads for the installation of a telephone system. However, the telephone service was limited due to the difficulty in getting operators who could speak Chinese, English and Japanese. Minutes of the Annual Meeting: 1920.

⁶⁵ Annual Report: 1930, General Report, p. 3; The Telephone Agreement (1924); Annual Report: 1931, Municipal Report, p. 3.

⁶⁶ Annual Report: 1933, Municipal Report, p. 4.

condition.”⁶⁷ Although a public market was opened on Ling Tow (Longtou) Square before 1929, its operation was unsatisfactory.⁶⁸ To solve this problem, the Council negotiated with many private companies and finally signed an agreement with the *Ruhua* Company on 5th May, 1933. Thus, the Gulangyu No.1 Market at Longtou Street was designed to satisfy the Council’s requirement of safety and hygiene, and the company reserved the sole right to erect and manage public markets on Gulangyu for twenty years. Meanwhile, the Council required all sellers within certain areas to do business in this modern market. The Market Rules and Regulations were set up to direct the daily operation, and the Market Commission was organized to supervise the management.⁶⁹ This Market was praised as “one of the outstanding measures taken to improve sanitary and health conditions.”⁷⁰

The Chinese were largely involved in the establishment of public utilities on Gulangyu thanks to their capital and modern knowledge. They were an important force behind the urban development of the Settlement. The Council’s effort was embodied in their guidance, support and supervision of these works. The administration of the Gulangyu Municipal Council reflected the urban development of concessions and international settlements in semi-colonial China. While these quasi-independent settlements were operated along the lines of Western ideas, their developments were constrained by the political, economic, social and cultural factors pertaining to local contexts.

⁶⁷ Annual Report: 1933, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Annual Report: 1929, Health Committee’s Report, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Kulangsu Municipal Council, “Draft of Proposed Public Market Agreement, Market Rules and Regulations, Specifications of Public Market Building,” April 1933.

⁷⁰ Annual Report: 1936, 16.

5.3 Building Urban Environment in Modern China

Treaty Rights and Conflicting Colonial Powers

After the First Opium War, the treaty port system was established to guide foreigners' life in China. Although the conditions of the treaties were modified by practice and the treaty rights were built up incrementally, the framework provided by the treaties of 1842 and 1858 had not changed much. The citizens of the treaty powers were immune from Chinese laws and governed by the legal practices of their own countries and administered by their consular bodies in China.⁷¹ The extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction, as well as the quasi-independent settlements, more or less isolated the foreigners from the mainstream Chinese life. However, foreigners could not live without communicating with the Chinese community. On one hand, the Chinese Emperor was still the host of the territory, and the Chinese political, economic and cultural system continued in force. On the other hand, the safety of the foreigners and settlements in essence were tied to "a power which did not really exist," and "trusted to prestige in the absence of gunboats."⁷² More important, although the "most-favoured-nation" clauses allowed the colonial powers to share the treaty rights and to create an interlocking net of arrangements, they had diverse legal basis and different methods in dealing with China issues.⁷³ In fact, they constrained each other to protect their own interest and the power relationship among them was complex and subtle.

⁷¹ Elder, ed., *China's Treaty Ports: Half Love and Half Hate*, xx, xxi.

⁷² Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, 44.

⁷³ Hoare, *Embassies in the East*, 6.

Like other concessions and settlements in modern China, Gulangyu experienced similar social problems after the First Opium War. However, due to the concentration of many colonial powers in a small area, the conflicts among them were more severe than in other places, which to a great extent affected the healthy development of this Settlement. As Meyrick Hewlett said, “the international character of the Settlement made problems very difficult to handle, and there was less harmony in Amoy than in any other port in which I ever served.”⁷⁴ For example, the increasing Japanese population in Xiamen after 1895 led to the Japanese municipal domination on Gulangyu. Initially, the voting system of the Settlement was designed to prevent any swamping of the ballot by the members of a single institution. However, after paying small taxes, many Japanese became full-fledged municipal voters and constituted 50 per cent of all the votes at the end of 1910s. Moreover, their unanimous obedience to their leader could effectually block any motion before a municipal meeting, which damaged the interest of other foreigners. Hence, the Council presented a proposal to upgrade the voting qualifications so as to reduce the number of eligible Japanese voters. This action was strongly opposed by the Japanese Consul.⁷⁵ Finally, the voting qualifications had to be adjusted to satisfy the different parties.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Hewlett, *Forty Years in China*, 151.

⁷⁵ B. G. Tours, Correspondence, 25 October 1918, 11 December 1918, PRO, FO228: 3470.

⁷⁶ The three qualifications of voters in the Regulations for Gulangyu were: 1) Foreign owners of land on Kulangsu registered at a Consulate and of an assessed value of not less than \$1,000; 2) Authorized Agents or Proxies of land owners as above who are absent from the Port; 3) Foreign annual Taxpayers of [\$5] and upwards exclusive of license fees. (for details see Appendix 2) The Council intended to increase these qualifications as following — 1) paying rates on an assessed value of not less than \$4,000; 2) paying tax of \$20 and upwards per annum, exclusive of license fees; 3) paying taxes on an actual rental or assessed rental value of not less than \$400. (for details see Appendix 4) However, the Consul for Japan did not agree to the amounts of \$20 and \$400 fixed in connection with qualifications of voters, and believed that \$15 and \$300, respectively, should be substituted therefore. Y. Obata, Correspondence, 13 March 1920, PRO, FO228: 3470.

Unstable Social Environment

Suffering continuous foreign invasions and civil wars, modern China was in an unstable state. Under this condition, the comparatively safe concessions and settlements not only congregated a certain amount of population and capital, but also led to a kind of cooperation and obedience in these areas. In fact, Gulangyu International Settlement became a “provincial oasis for refugees.”⁷⁷ As the Annual Reports said, “a realization of mutual responsibility for good order and progress among residents had become a real factor in the preservation of public peace and in social progress.”⁷⁸ Although the Chinese opposition to concessions in China once led to a discussion of returning Gulangyu to Chinese control in 1922, the inhabitants, especially those wealthy residents were against this proposal, because the Settlement was regarded as “a blessing to the neighbourhood” in conflicts and wars, and an “asylum from the oppression and extortion of the mandarins.”⁷⁹

However, the development of the Settlement was also circumstanced by unstable social state. The direct consequence was refugee problem. The population of Gulangyu once rose to approximately 45,000 in the third quarter of 1923.⁸⁰ Although the increasing population stimulated building activities, the building boom was unhealthy and almost exhausted the limited sources of the island. In 1932, approximately 25,000 refugees swarmed into the Settlement.⁸¹ And the situation worsened in the next year and the population rose from 35,000 to 52,000.⁸² When the Japanese occupied Xiamen in 1938, around 100,000 refugees surged to this tiny island,

⁷⁷ Annual Report: 1923, 27.

⁷⁸ Annual Report: 1936, Municipal Report, p.4.

⁷⁹ Annual Report: 1937, 26; A. E. Easter, Letter, 4 November, 1922, FO228:3470.

⁸⁰ Annual Report: 1923, 31.

⁸¹ Annual Report: 1932, Police Report, p. 2.

⁸² Annual Report: 1933, Municipal Report, p. 4.

the International Relief Committee of Kulangsu was organized to solve the serious problem.⁸³

Moreover, the neutral status of the Settlement was maintained by a delicate power balance between the colonial forces. Once the balance was broken, the peace and order of the Settlement would be lost. After occupying Xiamen on 10th May, 1938, the Japanese landed on Gulangyu on 11th May, 1939. Despite the protest of the other colonial forces, they controlled the Council on 17th October of that year and finally occupied the island on 8th December, 1941.⁸⁴ In fact, the so-called Municipal Period almost ended when the Japanese started the war in 1937. At that time, many wealthy overseas Chinese left Gulangyu in a hurry.

Limited Municipal Power

Unlike Shanghai and other large concessions, the development of Gulangyu was also constrained by many internal factors. First of all, after many years of usage, the Land Regulations and Bye-Laws became irrelevant. However, the process of revising them was interrupted by many forces. The initial work started on 18th November, 1913, and was paused in 1914 owing to strained relations in the district. Four years later, the matter was again brought to the public attention through consulting different forces in Xiamen. Finally, the draft of the revised Regulations was forwarded to Beijing in 1919 for sanction.⁸⁵ However, it was suspended for unknown reasons.

⁸³ Annual Report: 1938, 4.

⁸⁴ Zhang Zongqia 张宗洽, "Banian jinku dou ermo: kangri zhanzhang shiqi rikou zai Gulangyu de baoxing he Gulangyu renmin de yingyong douzheng 八年艰苦斗恶魔: 抗日战争时期日寇在鼓浪屿的暴行和鼓浪屿人民的英勇斗争 [Eight-year fighting against evil: the Japanese crime on Gulangyu and the opposition of Gulangyu people in the Anti-Japanese War]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 4 (1999): 37-44.

⁸⁵ Report to the Ratepayers at their Special Meeting, 2 November 1922, PRO, FO228: 3470.

Secondly, the staff of the Council were not in proportion to the size of the Community and the Settlement, because the Council had to handle local municipal work and international questions at that time. The Annual Report for 1923 once said that, although the present size of municipality was good, they required at least one additional man with engineering background to maintain and construct roads, drains and bunds and the kindred subjects.⁸⁶ However, the municipal income could not support the expansion of the Council. In fact, the cost of maintaining a colonial administration was high. Salaries and wages for the secretariat and police already occupied 48% to 57% of the annual expenditure. Besides, the Council also set up many funds to ensure welfare for their staff.⁸⁷

Thirdly, the lack of industrial and commercial activities in the Settlement meant that the revenue of the Council was limited and inadequate. It mainly came from the assessment, building permits, and various license fees, etc. The Assessment on property and rentals accounted for more than 60% of the annual revenue.

Although a scheme of embracing a full and complete survey of all property was prepared in 1936, the Council had to defer it, because they could not afford the cost of carrying out this project at around \$10,000.⁸⁸ According to the Comparative Table from 1903 to 1938, the highest revenue of the Council was \$167,519.26 for 1934. (Appendix 6) However, the cost of setting up the Waterworks was around \$460,000.00.⁸⁹ In fact, the cost of maintaining roads and

⁸⁶ Annual Report: 1923, 6.

⁸⁷ The funds included Provident Fund (G. R. B. and A. G. O.), Police & Staff Superannuation Fund, the Sinking Fund, the Furlough Passage and Salary Reserve, the Employees Indemnity & Contingency Fund, etc.

⁸⁸ Annual Report: 1936, 5.

⁸⁹ According to the report of the Waterworks Company, "owing to the abnormal rate of exchange and the increase in price for materials, the total amount of expenditure will have to be increased from \$

drains, scavenging and providing street lights respectively accounted for around 10%, 10% and 3% of the annual expenditure. In other words, not more than 25% of the annual expenditure was spent on the civil works. Apparently, it was impossible for the Council to carry out any thorough municipal reformation, which partially explains the necessity of utilizing original urban network after 1903.

To raise funds for extraordinary but necessary projects, the Council had to obtain permission from the Meetings of Ratepayers to adjust rates and taxes, as well as launch debentures. For example, to construct Municipal buildings and goal, etc., the Council once launched 180 Debentures of \$100 each in 1908, which bore interest at the rate of 7 per cent per annum and was planned to be paid up in 1923.⁹⁰ To construct a new modern jetty at Longtou and to purchase fire engines and fire fighting equipment, the Council Meeting presented a proposal on 17th November, 1933 and was authorized by the Annual Meeting for 1934 to apply a surcharge of 15% on all assessment payments in respect of 1934 for these projects.⁹¹

Local Forces and Indigenous Customs

Although the “door “of the Middle Kingdom was opened by guns and cannons, China’s political, economic, social and cultural system had sustained the country in an “ultra-conservation” for a long time. Stanley Lane-Poole once commented that, “the foreign powers had not shaken China a jot in all the fifty years since the Treaty of Nanjing. Unless you can uproot the very foundations, and convince him [the Chinese]

350,000.00 – as was originally estimated to \$ 460,000.00 – an increase of about 30%.” Annual Report: 1929, Municipal Report, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Pitcher, *In and about Amoy*, 260.

⁹¹ Annual Report: 1933, Municipal Report, p. 5; Kulangsu Municipal Council, *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Ratepayers held on 29th January, 1934* (Amoy: Man Sbing Printing Office.)

that the system is hopelessly obsolete, you cannot shake a mandarin's self-complacency."⁹² The establishment of the municipal administration on Gulangyu did not fundamentally change the Chinese social structure. On the contrary, local forces were respected by the Council and indigenous customs were adapted in order to manage efficiently the Settlement. The Chief of Police, G. R. Bass once reported that, he was composing a handbook to "define the Laws and Regulations operative by usage, custom, official notification, or acknowledgement in the Settlement."⁹³

In a district with indigenous customs, the Council had to handle carefully the relationship with local forces bounded by the clanship. Having ancient privileges and unwritten laws, some of the forces even controlled the gangster and illegal societies. The Council had to make every effort to call the leading citizens to use their influence to "deter irresponsible and illegal actions by persons or organizations having a perverted sense of duty, of legality, and of patriotism." The cooperation of "certain persons in authority in political, labour and guild circles" was no doubt imperative in maintaining the peace and order in the Settlement.⁹⁴

Realizing the efficiency of the *baojia* system in confining the residence of undesirable persons and eliminating the source of crime, the Council established its official position in the Settlement in 1936 and operated it in a traditional Chinese way. The police report for 1937 said that, "there has been no influx of the criminal class; and, as the Po Kah [*baojia*] System is now becoming more efficient and fully organized, there is little danger of increased criminal activity."⁹⁵ In fact, the system

⁹² Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, 50-1.

⁹³ Annual Report: 1929, Police Report, p. 3.

⁹⁴ Annual Report: 1931, Police Report, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Annual Report: 1937, 26.

had been retained by the Chinese in the Settlement after 1903. For example, the neighbourhood temples – Zhongdegong and Xingxiangong were preserved and the role that the *baozhang* played in land transactions was also maintained. Moreover, the Chinese residents on Gulangyu were unable to move to neighbouring districts or cities without a permit and certificate of residence and good character from the officers where they had been residing.⁹⁶

Striving for the Chinese Rights

Due to the safe and sanitary living environment, Gulangyu attracted a large number of wealthy Chinese, especially the returning overseas Chinese. Due to many reasons, a large number of Minnanese went abroad to unknown foreign land. After accumulating a fortune, they usually remitted it back to their native places for their families.⁹⁷ The American Consul reported in 1926 that, “the remittances constituted one of the principal sources of wealth of the Province of Fukien.”⁹⁸ For these overseas Chinese, Xiamen was an important entrepôt, not only having similar dialect and customs with their hometowns, but also conveniently linking with the outside world.⁹⁹

Existing studies show that the overseas Chinese was an important force driving the modern development of real estate in Xiamen, including Gulangyu. For the Minnanese, to build one’s family house, ancestral hall and grave, as well as to set up a school were regarded as the four Golden Happiness 金福 in life.¹⁰⁰ 45.5% of the

⁹⁶ Annual Report: 1936, 5.

⁹⁷ Smith, *Consular Cities of China*, 482.

⁹⁸ Webber, “Amoy Consular District,” 555.

⁹⁹ Zhao Dexin 赵德馨, *Huang Yizhu zhuan* 黄奕住传 [Biography of Huang Yizhu] (Hunan: Renmin chubanshe, 1998,) 94-5.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 98-9.

overseas Chinese investment in Fujian before 1949 was on real estate.¹⁰¹ In respect of the Chinese real properties on Gulangyu, the record of 1923 shows that 72.54% of the assessment came from the Chinese properties, and that of 1933 also reflects that the Chinese (including Foreign-Chinese) paid 80.47% of the assessment account of that year.¹⁰² (Appendix 7, 8, 9, 10) In Harry Franck's words, "the wealthy Celestials have more extensive estates, with elaborate dwellings along the beaches, than the foreigners even of the oil- and cigarette-selling class."¹⁰³ According to the report of the Japanese Consul, the number of residents possessing any of the three qualifications to vote in 1926 included Foreigners 81; Chinese 639; Foreigners of Chinese descent 80.¹⁰⁴

However, neither the Chinese nor the Foreign-Chinese could vote or be voted as Councilor. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the rise of nationalism led the Chinese to act against foreign presence and the existence of self-governing foreign enclaves on Chinese territory.¹⁰⁵ Some counter-proposals were presented by the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs in Xiamen in 1920. They were rejected by the foreign consuls, because they "would seriously have affected the foreign control of the municipality, and the existing treaty rights of the foreign powers."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Zhuang Weiji 庄为玑, "Fujian huaqiao touzi jinxi tan 福建华侨投资今昔谈 [History of overseas Chinese investment in Fujian]," in *Haishangji 海上集* [Collection of the seas] (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1996), 531.

¹⁰² Annual Report: 1923, Statement of Foreign Landholdings, Rates and Taxes for Kulangsu; Annual Report: 1933, Statement of Foreign Landholdings, Rates and Taxes for Kulangsu.

¹⁰³ Quoted in Johnston and Erh, *The Last Colonies*, 67.

¹⁰⁴ As for the three qualifications of voters, see note No. 77. Letter from Japanese Minister to Minister for the Netherland and Senior Minister, 20 April 1926, PRO, FO228: 3470.

¹⁰⁵ Elder, ed., *China's Treaty Ports*, xxv.

¹⁰⁶ The proposals required to extend the franchise to Chinese taxpayers on the same terms as provided for foreign residents. As the proposals stated, the council should be increased to nine members, of whom four should be Chinese, and foreign assessors should be eliminated in Chinese criminal cases in the Mixed Court in which no foreign interest was involved. Further, foreign representation in appeal

The Chinese striving for their rights on Gulangyu was more complicated than in other places, because of the large number of overseas Chinese. A British correspondence once reported that, “it is too often forgotten by foreigners that there are only two International Settlements in China – Shanghai and Kulangsu, and that in a question of this kind more than local interests are concerned.”¹⁰⁷ The Settlement was a haven for people in the unstable social era, especially for the returning overseas Chinese with strong native-place sentiments, patriotism and modern ideology. They were familiar with the western government, liberty, laws, educations and municipality, etc., and realized the importance of the public safety and sanitation. Meanwhile, they were extremely skeptical of bureaucratic initiatives and the politics of the Chinese state at that time. In the former British Consul Meyrick Hewlett’s words, “the British subjects of Chinese descent, constituting a large and wealthy community in Xiamen, were splendidly loyal.”¹⁰⁸ Their overseas experience also made them realize their unequal political position and the importance of striving for their rights. Thus, “the matter of Chinese representation on the Kulangsu Municipal Council was complicated by the introduction of the vexed question of foreign nationals of Chinese race.”¹⁰⁹ The overseas Chinese not only supported the municipal works of the Council, but also stood together with the natives against foreigners’ franchise in the Settlement.

After Lin Erjia went abroad in 1922, the Chinese seat in the Council Board was vacant.¹¹⁰ And the Chinese Advisory Committee was initiated along the lines of

cases was to be abolished. Meanwhile, the proposals also claimed that the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs should have equal or joint power with the Consuls in many aspects. Letter from C. E. Gauss to M. Boppe, 30 March 1920, PRO, FO228: 3470.

¹⁰⁷ Letter, 13 January 1926, PRO, FO228: 3470.

¹⁰⁸ Hewlett, *Forty Years in China*, 151.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from R. Macleay to W. M. Hewlett, 6 May 1926, PRO, FO228: 3470.

¹¹⁰ Letter to Ronald Maclay, 13 January 1926, PRO, FO228: 3470.

Shanghai in that year. It consisted of five influential Chinese to “give considerable assistance to the Council in practically every matter which concerned Chinese residents of the Settlement.”¹¹¹ However, they could not attend the meetings of ratepayers.¹¹² After the May-30 Incident 五卅惨案 in 1925, the Consular Body and the Council realized that “the big majority of ratepayers were Chinese who had but little voice in the administration of affairs in the Settlement, except in a modified form through the Chinese Advisory Committee.”¹¹³ In 1926, the Kulangsu People’s Association was recognized to represent the Chinese interest in the Settlement.¹¹⁴ At the request of the Association, the seats of the Chinese Councilors in the Council Board were increased from one to three and the seats of the Foreign Councilors were decreased from six to four in 1926. Five Chinese gentlemen were appointed to serve on the five Committees of the Council.¹¹⁵ Gradually, the Chinese became involved in the municipal administration formerly dominated by the foreigners.

Summary

The establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement not only protected the extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction, but also allowed foreigners to experiment their concepts of municipal governance on Chinese soil. Directed by the Land Regulations and Bye-laws, the Municipal Council introduced and carried out Western

¹¹¹ Letter from A. E. Easter to R. H. Clive, 4 November 1922, PRO, FO228: 3470; Annual Report: 1923, 4.

¹¹² Annual Report: 1923, 4.

¹¹³ On May 30, 1925, patriotic students protested the unequal treaties in Shanghai. The British forces used force to disperse the students and killed some protestors. This incident led to a series of nationwide strikes and demonstrations against foreigners in China. Letter from E. J. Strick to W. M. Hewlett, 30 December 1925, PRO, FO228: 3470.

¹¹⁴ Letter to Ronald Maclay, 13 January 1926, PRO, FO228: 3470.

¹¹⁵ Annual Report: 1929, Municipal Report, p. 2.

concepts of public security and hygiene in the Settlement. After many years of implementation, the living environment of Gulangyu dramatically changed. It provided a peaceful oasis in an unstable social situation, not only for the foreigners, but also for the Chinese.

However, the development of the Settlement was unavoidably circumstanced by the complicated power relationship in semi-colonial China. It was impossible for the foreign powers to set up a complete colonial system in China, because the Chinese Government never gave up their jurisdiction and territorial sovereignty. The tension between colonial powers also restricted the growth of their forces. Moreover, the quasi-independent settlement could not isolate foreigners from the Chinese society sustained by a highly developed political, economic, social, and cultural system. The cooperation of local forces and adaptation of indigenous customs were imperative for the survival of the Settlement.

Meanwhile, as a pure residential settlement, Gulangyu lacked commercial activities. Unlike concession with commercial importance as Shanghai, the Council could not raise enough funds to support any large-scale municipal works. Hence, they did not undertake any urban planning, but utilized and improved the original urban structure. At the same time, the residential essence of this Settlement also made the Council concerned about its amenities. The natural environment could be preserved well during the construction process. Restricted by the limited funds, they encouraged and supported private efforts to engage in the development of the Settlement. The real estate market and personal needs directed urban construction, which allowed the land exchange system to play key role in urban development.

The improved living environment of the Gulangyu International Settlement showcased the advantages of the Western urban management. It also fostered concepts of public security and hygiene in the local people's mind. A communist working report in 1949 recorded the residents' appealing for recovering public sanitation on Gulangyu because of the worsened civil management at that time.¹¹⁶ The achievement of the Settlement also furnished a model for the city of Xiamen which was in a poor urban situation in the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence, the Chinese love-and-hate attitude towards Western concepts and administration led to their search for a Chinese modernity. As a result, Xiamen started a large-scale municipal reformation in the 1920s.

¹¹⁶ Wu Yangrong, comp. "Jieguan Gulangyu sishi tian de gongzuo zongjie (20 October-30 November, 1949) 接管鼓浪屿四十天的工作总结 (一九四九年十月廿日—十一月卅日) [Working report for forty-day taking over Gulangyu from 20 October to 30 November, 1949]," in GLYWSZL, vol. 4 (1999): 31-6.

Chapter 6

Land Alienation and Urban Transformation

Because of limited municipal power, urban construction largely relied on individual efforts which followed the land exchange system to purchase or rent land. Meanwhile, in Gulangyu International Settlement, land management was under the control of the Chinese Government. As the Clause No. 9 of the Land Regulations showed that the existing system of purchasing and transferring land continued to be in force after 1903. Thus, the land exchange system and social norms played an important role in land transfer and its usage. This further influenced the urban transformation in respect of land distribution and utilization of the urban structure.

With the opening of treaty ports, foreigners' acquisition of real estate in China became imperative. According to the Treaty of Tianjin, "British Subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to building or open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial-grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably, and without exaction on either side."¹ Due to the "most-favoured-nation" clause, other colonial powers enjoyed the same privileges as the British. Consequently, the system of rent-in-perpetuity 永租制 and title deed 道契 were created to serve this aim.² The former allowed foreigners to buy into Chinese real estate market and the latter

¹ Article 12 of the Treaty of Tianjin [Tientsin], 1858, in Mayers, Dennys, and King, *Treaties between the Empire of China and Foreign Powers*, 13.

² About the genesis of Rent-in-perpetuity system in Shanghai, see Wang, *Huzujie jingguo gaiyao*, 2.

legalized and protected their ownership through obtaining guarantee from the Chinese government and their consulates. At the same time, the Chinese Government maintained their territorial sovereignty through controlling land and certifying title deed. Initially, they were used in Shanghai, and later extensively in the treaty ports.

As I have mentioned before, although the British Concession was instituted in Xiamen in 1852, it was pure a commercial bund. Since 1860s, most foreigners in Xiamen began residing on Gulangyu. On the basis of the land exchange system, Chinese deeds and title deeds were used to record and guarantee land transactions. Hence, we could gain an insight into the process of how foreigners acquired and used land on Gulangyu and how the land exchange system affected their behaviour and further preserved the original urban structure.

6.1 Acquiring Real Estate in China

Traditional Chinese Land Scheme

A unique land scheme had been established in Qing China. On one hand, all land were under the name of the Emperor. In Meadows' words, "all tenants hold immediately of one lord, the Emperor, there being no mesne lords in China. There are also no allodial proprietors." On the other hand, the traditional Chinese laws on real estate were loose and the land exchange system could be adjusted in different districts in terms of local forces and customs. As Meadows pointed out, "the traditional Chinese laws on this subject [real estate] were *comparatively* few and concise, and conveyancing, in particular, was extremely simple," because "the common laws were

built up for certain and easy levying of the imperial revenue, derived from the ground-tax.”³

Because the Court was concerned with land taxes than land and the people, “*the quick and certain disposal of their property by the people* was so much a secondary consideration that had never been the object of special legislation.”⁴ In Qing China, “real property could be acquired in three ways: first, by cultivation of unoccupied land; secondly, by purchase; and thirdly, by inheritance.”⁵ Hence, Chinese landholders could sell or mortgage their property with comparative ease through paying annual tax and fees for alienation.

Many norms for land exchange were set up, which embodied Chinese tradition and indigenous custom. First of all, written deed was extensively used as an important medium in land transaction, which guaranteed duties and rights of two parties.⁶ Although it had a common convention, the details of deed varied in different districts and periods in terms of their custom and need. Generally, an officially certificated Chinese deed consisted of two parts – the deed of sale (*qi 契*) and the deed-end

³ Being the interpreter to the British Consulate at Canton, T. T. Meadows investigated the Qing’s laws relating real property and the land scheme in Canton. He presented a relevant paper in the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The extractions were published in the Chinese Repository in 1849. T. T. Meadows, “Remarks on the Acquisition, Tenure, and Alienation of Real Property in China,” in *Chinese Depository* 18, no. 11 (November, 1849): 569. (hereafter cited as “Remarks on Alienation of Real Property in China.”)

⁴ Ibid., 561.

⁵ The official process of cultivating a piece of unoccupied land could be summarized as following. The cultivator must present to the district magistrate a statement with the situation, extent, boundaries, and folk name of land. The magistrate would survey the land and issue a proclamation calling on all persons having claim to the land in question. If no one answered the call within five months, the district magistrate would fill up a deed and deliver it to the cultivator, who was thereby placed in full and permanent possession of the property and could bar any subsequent claims in perpetuity. Meadows, “Remarks on Alienation of Real Property in China,” 562-4.

⁶ Ma Xueqiang 马学强, *Cong chuantong dao jindai: jiangnan chengzhen tudi chanquan zhidu yanjiu* 从传统到近代: 江南城镇土地产权制度研究 [From tradition to modern: study of land ownership in cities and towns of Jiangnan] (Shanghai: Shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2002), 62-3. (hereafter cited as *Cong chuantong dao jindai*)

(*qiwei* 契尾). The former was granted by the seller and usually called Skin Deed (*piqi* 皮契), which could be regarded as the parchment of China. And the latter was a printed form issued by district magistracies, where it was obtained by the purchasers of land on application.⁷

The deed of sale was the most important guarantee in land transaction, because not all landholders applied for official deed-end. To prevent possible future dispute on the property, the purchaser usually demanded from the seller the Former Deed 前手契 or 上手契 that was executed when the property had been transferred to the latter. If a property had changed owners frequently, three or four sets of former deeds were often collected in the possession of the existing proprietor. Consequently, information on land could be passed among landholders for a long time.

Secondly, due to the stability of the Chinese family structure, family properties could be inherited for generations. Large families had public properties, such as ancestral hall, public land and burial ground, etc. These properties were managed by family members and controlled by certain norms. Meanwhile, because of the clanship bonds, the right of family members and neighbours was protected in the land exchange system. The right of *qinlin youxian* 亲邻优先 guaranteed their priority in purchasing certain property.⁸ Land transaction must be conducted with witness and middleman, who usually were family members, acquaintances and *dibao* (地保 *baozhang*). Consequently, land transfer was usually confined within a given social circle.

⁷ Meadows, "Remarks on Alienation of Real Property in China," 570-1.

⁸ Ma, *Cong chuantong dao jinda*, 71.

The study of Sino-Foreign land transaction on Gulangyu showed that these norms were adhered by Chinese and foreigners. Hence, it allowed Chinese tradition and indigenous custom embodied in the deeds to be followed by foreign tenants. Before the introduction of title deed system, the foreigners adopted Chinese deeds. Later, the Chinese deeds and former deeds were superceded by the title deed system. Through studying land transfers among the Chinese and foreigners, namely C. A. Michelsen, and Robert Hunter Bruce, I would like to show the process of land transaction on Gulangyu and how a foreign property was formed under the land exchange system.

The lot at Tianwei was registered by Bruce at the British Consulate as Lot No. 74 in 1902. Appended with six former deeds, the title deed consisted of the Chinese and English versions, as well as a map of the property. The series of the Chinese deeds recorded the land transactions between Michelsen and the Chinese landholders, namely Huang Boyu 黄伯瑜, Huang Yiji 黄益记, Hong Chang 洪昌, Hong Guan 洪观, Huang Banliang of Yang Family 杨门黄伴凉, and Zhang Rong 张荣. Initially, Michelsen obtained three lots from Huang Boyu and Huang Yiji in 1872. Then he built his house – Avodale – to which later deeds referred as Foreign House of *Chengji* 成记洋楼. Two years later, he rented another three parcels of land from his neighbours – Hong Chang, Hong Guan and Huang Banliang. In 1896, he once again expanded his property through renting the adjoining land from his neighbour – Zhang Rong.

Hence, Michelsen formed a large property bounded on the north by the Customs kitchen garden, south by the Hung family's cemetery, east by a private road on Bruce's land, and west by a public road. He transferred the premises to his neighbour

Bruce in 1902, who owned a property east of this plot. After certifying these Chinese deeds, the Maritime Sub-Prefect of Xiamen approved Bruce's application on 6th March, 1902. The lot was finally registered in the British Consulate on 7th July in that year. Frederick Brougham Marshall, attorney for Bruce, transferred a portion of the lot to Lin Lu (Lim Loh 林露) on 7th July, 1903.⁹

As this case indicated, Gulangyu had been cultivated by local people in early Qing and certain plots of land had been inherited for generations before they were leased to foreigners. As Huang Boyu, Huang Yiji, Hong Chang, Hong Guan, and Zhang Rong stated, their properties were inherited from their grandfathers, who cultivated or legally owned the lots. And the widow of Yang Family, Huang Banliang claimed that the lot was left to her by her late husband.

As the deeds between the locals and Michelsen show, foreigners followed the Chinese land exchange system to obtain real estates. In fact, the Chinese deeds for Michelson were not much different from the traditional ones. A typical Chinese deed in Xiamen usually includes the following information: 1) name(s) of seller(s) and buyer(s); 2) source and history of lot; 3) location, boundary, value or tax of lot; 4) reason of transferring lot; 5) terms and conditions; 6) claims and duties of two parties; 7) signatures of middleman, witness and seller(s); 8) issued date, etc. All these information could be found in Michelsen's deeds. The only change was that the deeds were stamped with the seal of the Danish Consulate (DANSK CONSULAT) at Xiamen. That means foreign consulates started to engage in Sino-Foreign land transactions.

⁹ Amoy: Lot No. 74 Bruce, R. H., 1902, PRO, FO678: 17.

These land transactions show that Michelson had the priority of renting neighbouring lots and indicate how the right of *qinlin youxian* enabled foreigners to combine small lots into larger plots. Michelson also transferred his premises to his neighbour Bruce. Meanwhile, as an important middleman, *dibao* was retained in these land transactions. The seal of He Qin 何钦, the *dibao* of the district appeared on the five pieces of deeds for Michelsen.

More important, the Chinese deeds were important guarantee in the Sino-Foreign land transactions. And the foreigners usually dealt with the landholders with legal certifications, because the former deeds would facilitate foreigners' registration of lots at the Chinese Government and their consulates. Hence, social norms and indigenous customs recorded in these deeds were passed to the foreigners who adhered to them to minimize unnecessary conflicts with the locals and local authorities.

Rent-in-Perpetuity System and Title Deed

Although the Chinese Government allowed foreigners to obtain real estate in China, it was unacceptable to sell land to "barbarians," because all land under the heaven belonged to the Emperor. The establishment of the rent-in-perpetuity system was an innovative method that allowed foreigners to own real estate in China, while the Chinese territorial sovereignty could be maintained. In the beginning, foreigners paid *yazu* 压租 [Deposit] to Chinese landholders at their request and *nianzu* 年租 [Annual Rental] to the Chinese government according to the regulations. Later, the deposit became *dijia* 地价 [Land Value] relating to Chinese landlords and the annual

rent became *dishui* 地税 [Land Tax] as annual revenue for the Chinese government.¹⁰

Accompanying the rent-in-perpetuity system was the introduction of the title deed system. It is said that the earliest title deed was issued in Shanghai in 1847 on the basis of the Land Regulations for Shanghai of 1845. It was standardized in the revised Land Regulations of 1854.¹¹ Before the usage of title deed, foreigners in Xiamen adopted Chinese deeds, as the case of Lot of No. 74 shows. Meanwhile, title deed in Xiamen was clearly influenced by the traditional Chinese deed system. Two pieces of title deeds quoted here showed the characteristics of title deeds in the Qing and Republican era. Generally, the title deed consisted of two parts – one in Chinese version and the other in a foreign language according to the nationality of foreign tenant. The latter was regarded as a translation of the former. However, their contents had a slight difference, which reflected diverse interests of the two bodies.

The title deed of Lot No. 2 was held by the British merchant A. W. Bain, who acquired a property from another British subject Lanken and registered it at the British Consulate on 6th May, 1879. Its Chinese version was a brief copy of the traditional Chinese deed with addition of the statement of treaty rights. It also noted that the title deed was issued “in support of the original Bill of Sale signed by the proprietor and sealed by the Ti-pao [*dibao*].” At the same time, it stated that three copies of the title deed were respectively retained by the Chinese authority, the Consulate and the tenant. The English part looked like a summary of the Chinese

¹⁰ For details of the genesis of the Rent-in-perpetuity system and title deed, see Xu and Qiu, *Shanghai gongong zuijie zhidu*, 31, 160-75; Ma, 180-1.

¹¹ Ma, *Cong chuantong dao jindai*, 170, 175, 182, 187-9.

version, minus the names of the Chinese owners and the measurements of the lot.¹²

(Appendix 11)

The Title Deed of Lot No. 133 was issued by the Siming Magistrate to the English Presbyterian Mission on 30th March, 1915. It was registered at the British Consulate on 4th December in that year. The content of the title deed changed in the Republican era eliminated traditional information such as source of land, information on former deed, and guarantee of *dibao*, etc. However, it was supplemented with some conditions to state that the Lord of the Land (the Chinese Government) could take over the proprietorship of the said propriety in case the renters breached the said conditions. While the name of the proprietor was omitted in the Chinese version of title deed, it appeared in the English version.¹³ (Appendix 12) The simplified Chinese version and the developed English version in the Republican era imply the changing position of the Chinese government and colonial powers in land transaction. In fact, title deed gradually replaced the Chinese deed in land transaction.

As these title deeds show, the application of title deed must be approved by the Chinese Government. Their forms also indicate that local authorities were the main body in the issuance of title deed. Without the approval of the Magistrate, the title deed could not be registered with Consulates. However, if the applicant did not register the deed with the Consulate, his/her proprietorship was incomplete. For example, because P. J. Petigura did not register his lot at the British Consulate after completing his application at the Chinese Government on 23rd August, 1916. The

¹² Amoy: Lot No. 2 Bain, A. W. 1879, PRO, FO678: 5.

¹³ Amoy: Lot No. 133 English Presbyterian Mission, 1915, PRO, FO678: 47.

British Consul had to ask an authorized person to sign the register on behalf of the deceased Petigura on May 23rd, 1922.¹⁴

The Qing emphasized the continuity of the traditional Chinese land exchange system, and the Republican Government highlighted the importance of their territorial sovereignty. The validity of title deed in the Qing relied on Chinese deeds and the role that *dibao* played in land transaction was emphasized. Chinese tradition and indigenous custom could continue to influence foreign tenants' development of land. Instead, title deed in the Republican era distinguished the difference of proprietorship between foreign and Chinese landholders. The foreigners could use and transfer their properties under certain conditions. The Chinese government retained the right of confiscating the property, in case that the foreign renter did not pay for the annual tax or transferred the property without the permission of the consul and local authorities, etc. In other words, the Chinese government replaced the former Chinese landholders to be the lawful owner of the properties.¹⁵

Despite changes of title deeds, the geographical information on lots had been an important part of the deeds. It could be studied to present how land was transferred and developed by foreign tenants. At the same time, through comparing terms and conditions recorded in the Chinese deeds and land amalgamation made by the foreigners, it is feasible to indicate how Chinese tradition and indigenous custom affected urban transformation on Gulangyu.

¹⁴ Amoy: Petigura, P. J. 1916, PRO, FO 678: 120.

¹⁵ Ma, *Cong chuantong dao jindai*, 179, 199-200.

Land Transaction and Local Forces

Traditional land transaction was always modified by indigenous customs, defined by the courts in the old cases, and acknowledged by local forces.¹⁶ Local authorities and *dibao* who directly affected land transactions were responsible for surveying and registering the land.¹⁷ As a product of the *baojia* System, the position of *dibao* was important in the Chinese society. Despite not having an official title, *dibao* was appointed by local authorities and held an official seal. One of his duties was taking charge of land management, including surveying, measuring, certificating and recording the land in his district.¹⁸ As the case of Lot No. 74 shows, He Qin was the *dibao* and the middleman in the land transactions between the locals and Michelsen in 1872 and 1874.

Although treaties allowed foreigners to obtain real estate in treaty ports, land alienation between the locals and foreigners relied much on local forces. For example, the first Protestant Church in Xiamen was established with the support of Ong Hok-kui, one of the first Chinese converts in Xiamen. In September of 1847, he transferred a small parcel of land with some houses to the mission, on which Xinjie Church, the so-called First Holy Church in China was constructed in 1849.¹⁹ However, T. Hart Hyatt, the American Consul at Xiamen was opposed by local authorities when he initiated the building of a consular residence on Gulangyu in 1855. According to him, the mandarins stopped his project and claimed that his neighbours were unwilling to allow a Catholic Church to be erected on the ground that he rented

¹⁶ Meadows, "Remarks on Alienation of Real Property in China," 562, 564.

¹⁷ Ibid., 562-4, 566.

¹⁸ Ma, *Cong chuantong dao jindai*, 155-7.

¹⁹ Pitcher, *In and About Amoy*, 232; Jianbo 剑波, "Zonghua diyi sengtang: Xiamen xinjie libaitang, 《中华第一圣堂》厦门新街礼拜堂 [The First Holy Church in China: Xinjie Church in Xiamen]," in XMWSZL, vol. 7 (1984): 95.

from the locals. But, it may not be the real reason leading to the action as Hyatt reported. He complained that, “I could imagine no reason for the general opposition, except the natural refuge name which the mandarins almost universally have against foreigners building or residing among them.” Despite Hyatt’s protest, local authorities had suspended the issue until the American warship arrived at the port at Hyatt’s request.²⁰

The influence of local authorities on the urban development of Gulangyu was obvious even after 1903. First of all, before developing the land, the owner must go through official channels for verification of the existence of a clear and undisputable title to the land in question.²¹ Thus, certain properties on Gulangyu could not be developed during the Municipal Period, because of the difficulty of verifying owners of properties and obtaining eviction orders in local civil courts.²²

Secondly, the Chinese Government still collected land taxes and fees for land alienation. The E. P. M. once reported that they paid the Siming (Tsu-Ming) District Magistrate transfer fees at the regulation rate of 6% on the value of the property, together with the charge for the documents.²³ And foreigners paid foreshore taxes to their Consulates, which were submitted to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs.²⁴ Meanwhile, they had to accept the Chinese concept of land right and tenure. For example, a Chinese company rented many parts of the foreshore from local authorities in the middle of the 1920s in order to build houses for refugees. This action was

²⁰ T. Hart Hyatt, Report, 10 December 1855, in *American Despatches*.

²¹ Annual Report: 1930, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 3.

²² Annual Report: 1932, Works Assessment Committee’s Report, p. 3.

²³ Amoy: English Presbyterian Mission, 1922, PRO, FO 678: 43.

²⁴ Foreign Affairs Bureau, “Official Letter about Submission of Foreshore Taxes by the American Consul 关于美国领事交纳鼓浪屿海滩租银,” 1927, Xiamen Archives, 18-1-17.

opposed by the British Consul, because the reclamation would damage the scenery of the nearby British Consulate. He appealed to the Council and the Consular Body to ask for the careful monitoring of this activity, and claimed their riparian rights according to English laws. However, the appeal came to naught, as the Chinese government did not recognize the English riparian rights. Moreover, local people were extremely concerned by any foreigners' engagement in affecting China's land at that time.²⁵

In summary, the flexible land exchange system in Qing China allowed foreigners to engage easily in the real market. Following Chinese norms, they could rent land from the locals. On the other hand, the system also left much room for local forces to intervene land transactions. The foreigners had to follow the existing system and respect indigenous custom during their construction process. The urban transformation on Gulangyu was affected by the land exchange system.

6.2 Land Distribution and Utilization

Preserving Original Urban Structure

The urban transformation on Gulangyu before and after 1903 shows the amazing preservation of the original urban structure. As I have discussed before, the reasons could be due to the rationality of the original urban structure and the limited power of the Municipal Council. At the same time, the land exchange system also played a key role in framing the urban transformation. The changes of the Recreation Ground and

²⁵ Letter to Ronald Macleay, 29 January 1925, PRO, FO228: 3470.

its surrounding show the process of how foreigners formed their properties, as well as how the urban structure was preserved in land transfers.

The site of the Recreation Ground was formed in the hand of Charles W. Le Gendre, then United States Consul at Xiamen. He rented nine parcels of land from the locals before 1872 and formed a large lot of eight hundred square *zhang*. It was registered with the American Consulate.²⁶ According to the records, the site was bounded on the north by the United States Consulate, and west by the house of W. C. Johnson, a British subject.

At the request of John Paterson and Randall H. Pye, Gendre agreed to sublease the property to them, subject to conditions that it must be used for the public interest and any transfer must be reported to and approved of by the United States Consul of Xiamen. If they breach any condition, the deed shall become null and void, and the United States Government could take over the property and the houses or tenements erected in the premise. After this agreement was signed on 30th July, 1872, Paterson and Pye held the property together without any deed of partnership. On 13th Sept. 1875, assented by the American Consul J. J. Henderson, Pye transferred his ownership of the property to Paterson at the rate of eight hundred and fifty dollars. According to Pye's deed, the property was bounded on the north by a road and the "Villa of the Banyans," east by a road and the Customs Bungalow, south by a road, and west by an irregular strip of ground separating the "Cricket Ground" from "Kelly Villa." It is worth noticing that the American Consulate in the last deed became the "Villa of the Banyans."

²⁶ The eight Chinese landholders were Wang Ee San, Hong San, Hong Lak Koa, Hong Kait, Su Tiang Yok, Hong Siu, Hong Chhi Hiang Tong, and Hong Liss.

Executed in the presence of the American Consul, Robert H. Bruce, the lawful Agent and attorney of John Paterson, transferred the lot to the Foreign Road Committee of Xiamen on 30th April, 1876, “for the use of the Foreign People of Amoy as a Recreation Ground.”²⁷ Since then, it was known as the Recreation Ground and became the centre for the foreign community on Gulangyu. And it was registered at the British Consulate as Lot No. 55 on 10th April, 1899. As the title deed stated, the lot was bounded on the north by Lawn Tennis Ground pavilion, south by Back Road to Kelly Villa, east by Lawn Tennis Ground, and west by Kelly Villa of R. H. Bruce. The boundaries of the Recreation Ground did not change after land transactions took place between Gendre and the locals. The roads on its north, east and south had been formed before 1875 as we can verify in these deeds.

The title deed of the Masonic Lodge, south of the Recreation Ground, also reflected the situation of this area in 1880. The land was first leased by Huang Binzai 黄彬斋 to a British subject in 1878. Later, it lodged the Masonic Hall and was registered at the British Consulate as Lot No. 5 on 10th June, 1880. According to the title deed, the lot was bounded on the north by a road and the Recreation Ground, south by vacant lot and part of the boundary walls of Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank property; east by a main road; and west by the boundary of the lot occupied by Agent of Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.²⁸

The road east of the Recreation Ground and the Masonic Hall was the “main road” at that time and is today’s Zhonghua Road. The road on the north of the Recreation

²⁷ The Annual Report for 1923 published Bruce’s affidavit on 22nd January 1917. He recalled the transfer process of this property. Annual Report: 1923, 7-9. Amoy: Lot No. 55 Kulangsu Lawn Tennis and Cricket Club, 1899, PRO, FO 678: 70.

²⁸ Amoy: Lot No. 5 Masonic Hall Trust Committee, 1879, PRO, FO 678: 102.

Ground was around 12 feet wide and became one of the arteries on Gulangyu – Huangyan Road. Leading to the back door of the Kelly Villa, the road between the Recreation Ground and the Masonic Hall had already taken shape and has been maintained till now.

In fact, this setting had formed in the 1860s as the deeds of the Kelly Villa indicated. West of the Recreation Ground, the site took shape in 1863, when O. B. Bracford, the Vice-Consul of the United States at Xiamen successively rented parcels of land from the locals in 1862 and 1863.²⁹ However, Bracford only paid for ten-year rental for these lots. After he returned to America, the property changed hand and no one continued to pay the rentals. When the property was taken over by Robert Hunter Bruce, some of the inheritors of these Chinese landholders appealed to local authorities to acquire their rights on the properties.³⁰ Eventually, Bruce paid for the rentals and compensated their loss in the last years. After being approved by the Chinese Government on 6th August, 1901, he registered the property at the British Consulate as Lot No. 68 on 12th October of that year.

As this title deed and attached map show, the lot was bounded on the north by a public road, south by property of Linshifu, west by an open ground, and east by the Recreation ground.³¹ Comparing it with those descriptions of the Recreation Ground

²⁹ The Chinese landholders were Cai Bi 蔡庇, Huang Jing 黄景, Hong Cong 洪聪, Hong Fu 洪复, Hong Tuo 洪脱, Hong Qing 洪庆, Hong Lu 洪炉, Hong Zhong 洪忠, Huang Tongyu 黄通裕, Huang Yuan 黄渊.

³⁰ These inheritors include Cai Quan 蔡全 (son of Cai Bi), Hong Niao 洪鸟 (young brother of Hong Fu), Hong Wencai 洪文才 (nephew of Hong Tuo), Hong Qiu 洪球 (son of Hong Qing), Hong Yi 洪意 (young brother of Hong Zhong).

³¹ The title deed described that the lot was bounded on the east by open ground and west by the public Recreation Ground. According to the records of the Recreation Ground, and the attached map as well as the existing situation of the ground, I would like to state that the description of the east and west boundaries in the title deed was reverse.

and the Masonic Lodge, we can conclude that the setting of this area had shaped in the middle of the nineteenth century and has been maintained despite the land was transferred among different landholders.

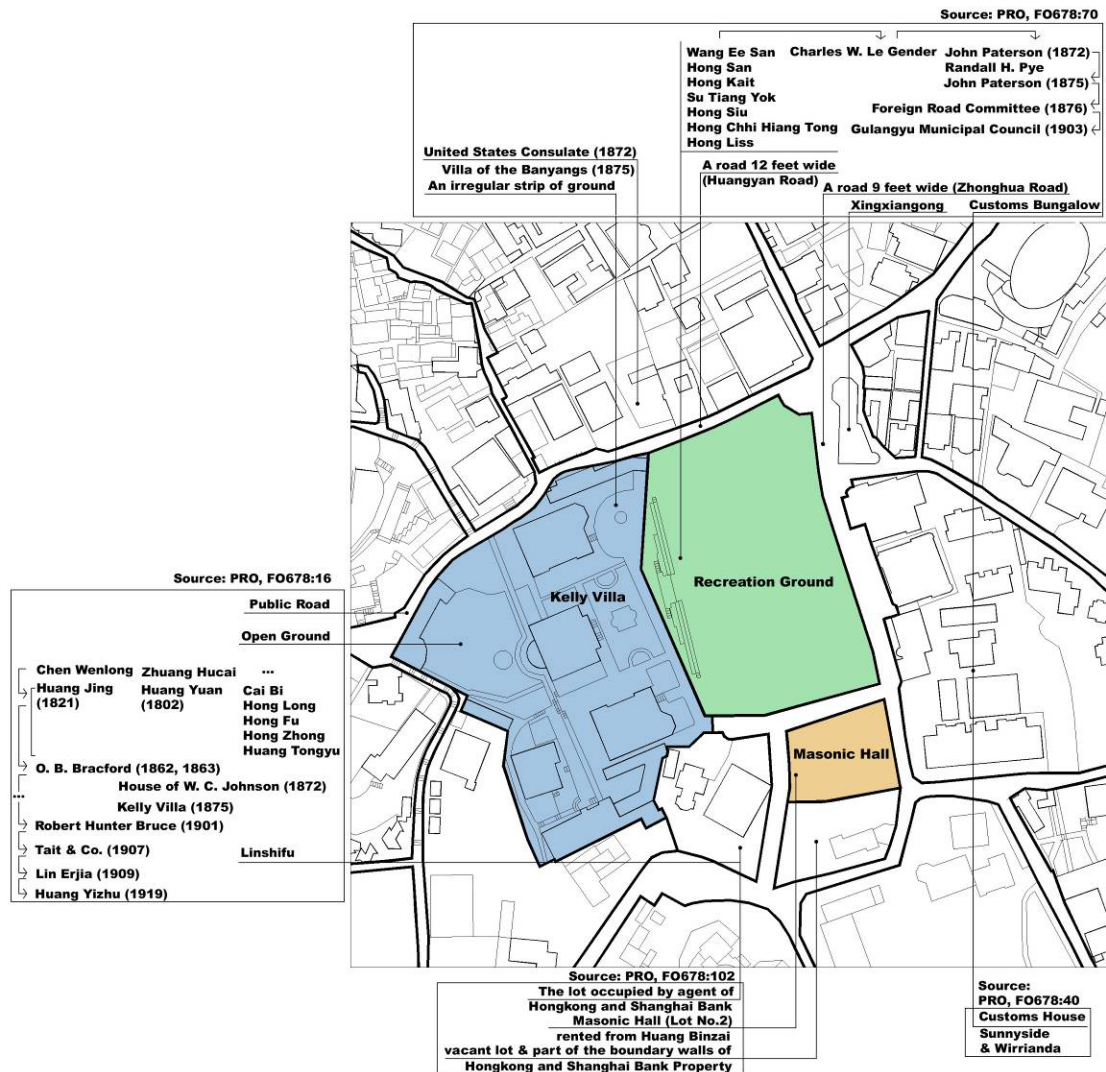
This property was transferred to the Tait & Co. on 12th June, 1907 and later to Lin Erjia on 12th July, 1909. At that time, his Family owned another lot south of the Kelly Villa.³² Lin transferred this property to Huang Yizhu in March, 1919. After settling down his family, Huang continued to buy neighbouring lots and initiated a great project in August of that year. It was completed on 15th August, 1925 and became today's Huangjiayuan 黄家园 [Garden of Huang Family].³³

The history of the Recreation Ground and its surrounding presents the early situation of the land on the west of the Xingxiangong. At the foot of Shuzaiwei Hill 树仔尾山, this hillside land had been cultivated by the locals, especially the Hong Family and Huang Family in the early nineteenth century.³⁴ Since 1860s, the locals gradually leased the farmland to the foreigners. Hence, some large foreign properties were formed. Despite the changes of the landholders, the boundaries of these properties did not change much and the surrounding roads could be identified as early as the 1860s. (Map 6.1)

³² Amoy: Lot No. 4 Tait & Co. 1901, PRO, FO 678: 16.

³³ Zhao, *Huang Yizhu zhuan*, 101-4.

³⁴ According to the former deeds of Huang Jing and Huang Yuan, the two parcels of land were respectively purchased from Chen Wenlong 陈文龙 in 1821 and Zhuang Hucai 庄胡才 in 1802.



Map 6.1 Land Transfers of the Recreation Ground and its Surrounding

Land Amalgamation and Free Land Alienation

The formation of the Recreation Ground and its surrounding showed that the land amalgamation by the foreigners in the middle of the nineteenth century. Due to the land exchange system and the open mindedness of local people, the free land alienation existed among the locals, foreigners and overseas Chinese on Gulangyu. At first, the foreigners' properties were transferred among themselves. Eventually, they were obtained by the Chinese due to the departure of these foreign sojourners. Even Robert Hunter Bruce who had stayed in Xiamen for thirty-six years from 1868 to 1904, finally retired and returned to England. At the end of the nineteenth century,

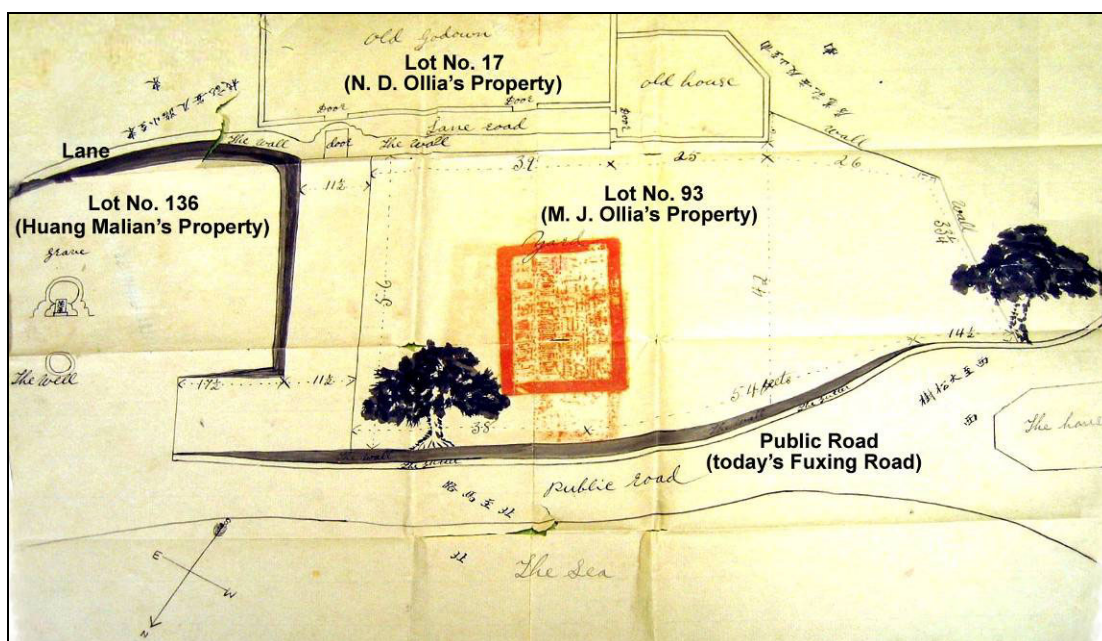
some of the foreigners' properties had been transferred to the Chinese, such as the Lin Family, etc. The returning overseas Chinese once again led to frequent Sino-Foreign land transactions. For example, besides the Kelly Villa, Huang Yizhu secured many properties from the British subjects after his returning in 1919. Most of them have been used by his descendants till today.

The formation of the Compound of Huang Family showed the free land alienation and also reflected the influence of the land exchange system on the urban transformation of Gulangyu. On 28th November, 1921, Huang Yizhu signed with the attorney of Phrizsha Jamsetii Petigura in the British Consulate and confirmed his purchase of three pieces of properties from this Indian merchant who was a British subject. All of them are located at the junction of today's Fuxing Road and Zhangzhou Road. At that time, they were called La Kee Tah and Sin Lo Tao Road, conveniently situated south of the Xin Jetty (Sin Lo Tao).

The earliest foreign building appeared in this quarter was the "Stone Villa" and the "Ankee Villa," which were constructed by Nusserwanjee Dadabhoy Ollia after he rented some parcels of land from Huang Ning 黄宁 and Zengxunji 曾勳记. He registered it with the British Consulate as Lot No. 17 on 11th Feb. 1882. The lot was bounded on the north by Zhangzhou Road (Sin Lo Tao Road), south by Mr. Steven's (Russell & Co.'s) property, east by Zhangzhou Road (Public Road), west by Qishan Road (Public Road) 旗山路 & Eng Khai-boon's property. These premises were transferred to P. J. Petigura on 29th July 1916.³⁵

³⁵ Amoy: Lot No. 17 Ollia, N. D. 1882, PRO, FO 678: 115.

The second parcel of land was rented by Motan Jehangir Ollia from Huang Yao 黄耀. It was registered at the British Consulate as Lot No. 93 on 30th Jan. 1905, and further transferred to P. J. Petigura on 9th March, 1916. The lot was bounded on the north by Fuxing Road (public road), south by a hill side & Ollia's old house, east by a lane & Ollia's godown, and west by a large fir-tree.³⁶ (Map 6.2)



Map 6.2 Map of Lot No. 93, 1905. (Source: PRO, FO678: 114)

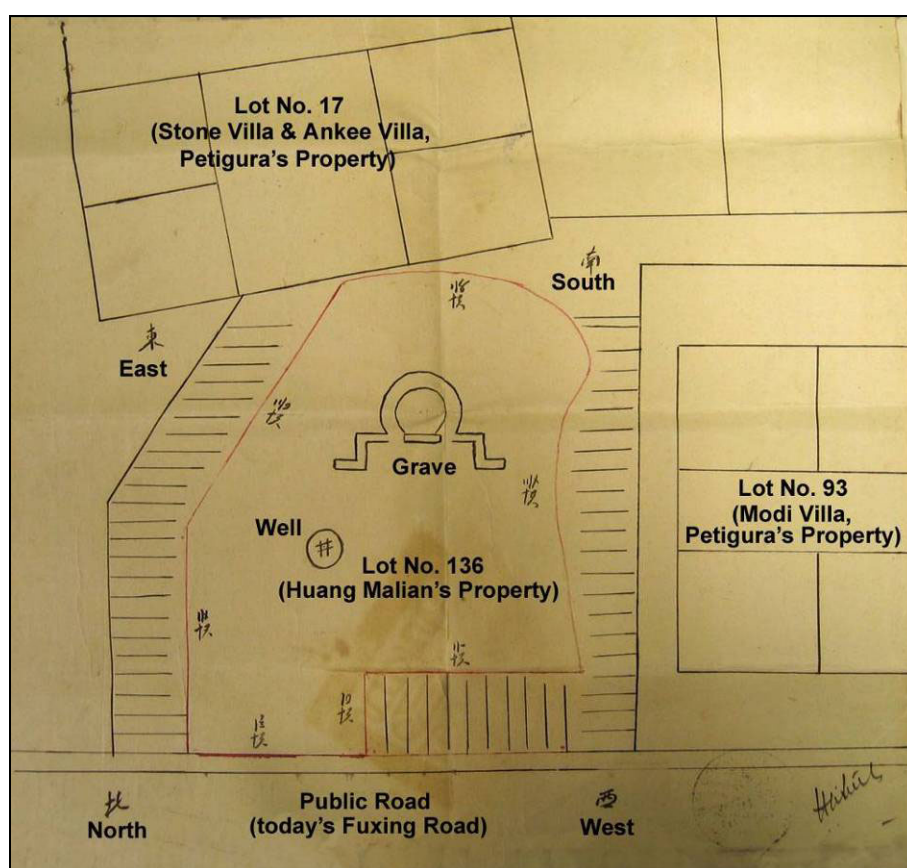
The third plot of the land was directly rented by P. J. Petigura from Huang Zhenqing 黄振清 who bought it from Huang Xian 黄贤 in May 1916. After being approved by local authorities on 23rd August, 1916, Petigura did not register this property with the British Consulate. This unregistered lot was bounded on the north by Fuxing Road (public road), south by “AnKee” Villa, east and west by a garden wall of “AnKee” Villa.³⁷ Although no records show how this lot was transferred to

³⁶ Amoy: Lot No. 93 Ollia, Mrs. Metan Jehanger. 1904, PRO, FO 678: 114.

³⁷ Amoy: Petigura, P. J. 1916, PRO, FO 678: 120.

Huang Yizhu, it became a part of his compound and has been used by his descendants till now.

The fourth one was also directly rented by P. J. Petigura from Huang MaLian 黄马连. It was registered at the British Consulate as Lot No. 136 on 21st Dec. 1916. The Lot was bounded on the north by Fuxing Road (public road leading to Sin Loh Thau Jetty), south by a wall of Mrs. N. D. Ollia property, east by AnKee Villa, and west by Modi Villa.³⁸ (Map 6.3)



Map 6.3 Map of Lot No. 136, 1916. (Source: PRO, FO678-121)

As these title deeds show, although Zengxunji occupied some parcels of land in this quarter, most of the land was formerly owned by Huang Families, including

³⁸ Amoy: Lot No. 136 Petigura, P. J. 1916, PRO, FO 678: 121.

Huang Yao, Huang Ning, Huang Xian and Huang Malian. Since 1882, the foreigners began to enter this quarter close to the Xin Jetty. But, this quarter was dominated by Chinese properties despite M. J. Ollia's renting a piece of land in 1905. (Fig. 6.1)

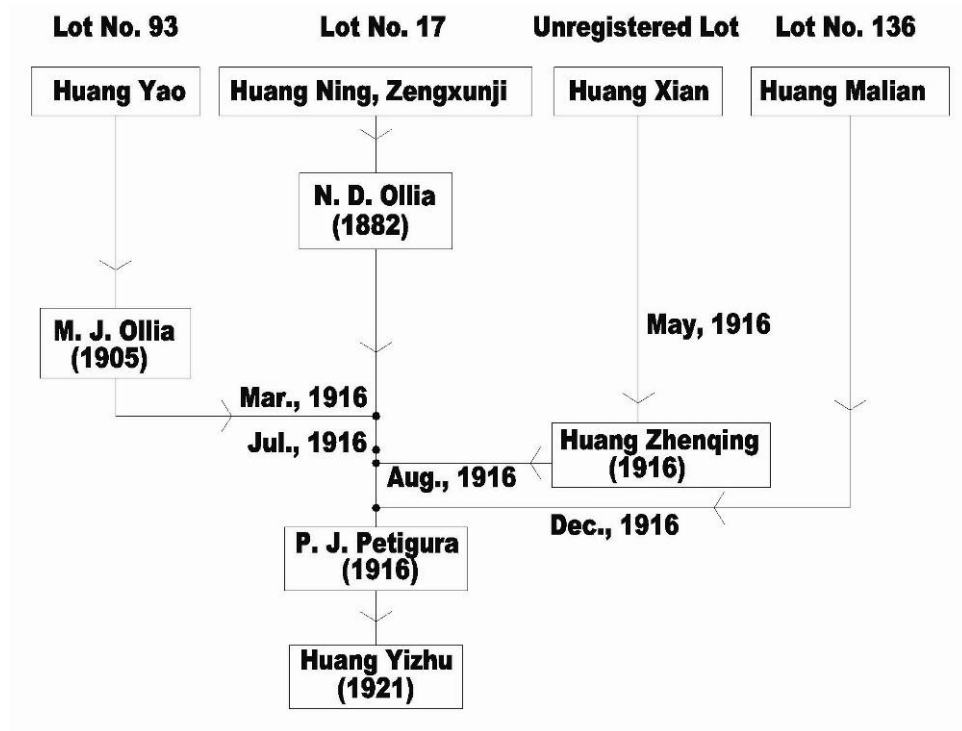
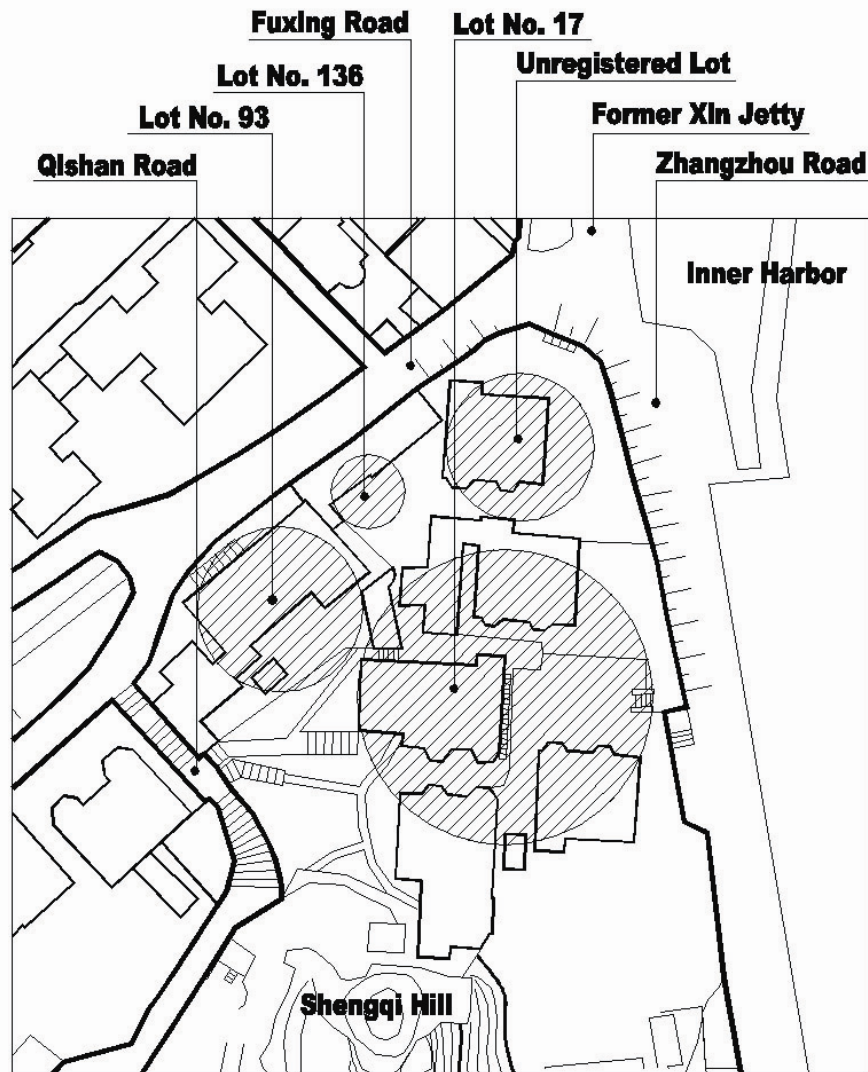


Figure 6.1 Land Transfers at the Junction of Fuxing Road and Zhangzhou Road

P. J. Petigura started his renting scheme of this area in 1916. At first, he successively obtained M. J. Ollia's and N. D. Ollia's properties in March and July. Soon after, he secured the premises of his Chinese neighbor Huang Zhenqing in August. The last Chinese lot left at this quarter was owned by Huang Malian, who had an ancient grave and a well in the site. At the request of Petigura and mediation of a middleman, he agreed to move the grave to other place and leased the lot to Petigura in December. Finally, Petigura combined these adjoining four parcels of land into a large site. Three of them completed the registration with the British Consulate and were transferred to Huang Yizhu in 1921. (Map 6.4)



Map 6.4 Formation of the Compound of Huang Family.

During the process of the land amalgamation, the setting of this quarter did not change much, although the lane between the Lot No. 136 and Lot No. 17 became a part of the premises. Fuxing Road, Zhangzhou Road, and Qishan Road had been referred to as the public roads in the series of title deeds. It is reasonable to assume that the locals had cultivated this area and set up the Xin Jetty in the early days. Thus, the urban structure had formed before the foreigners' arrival. Due to the land exchange system, the boundaries of these lots were retained despite changes of the landholders and land amalgamations took place within the original urban structure.

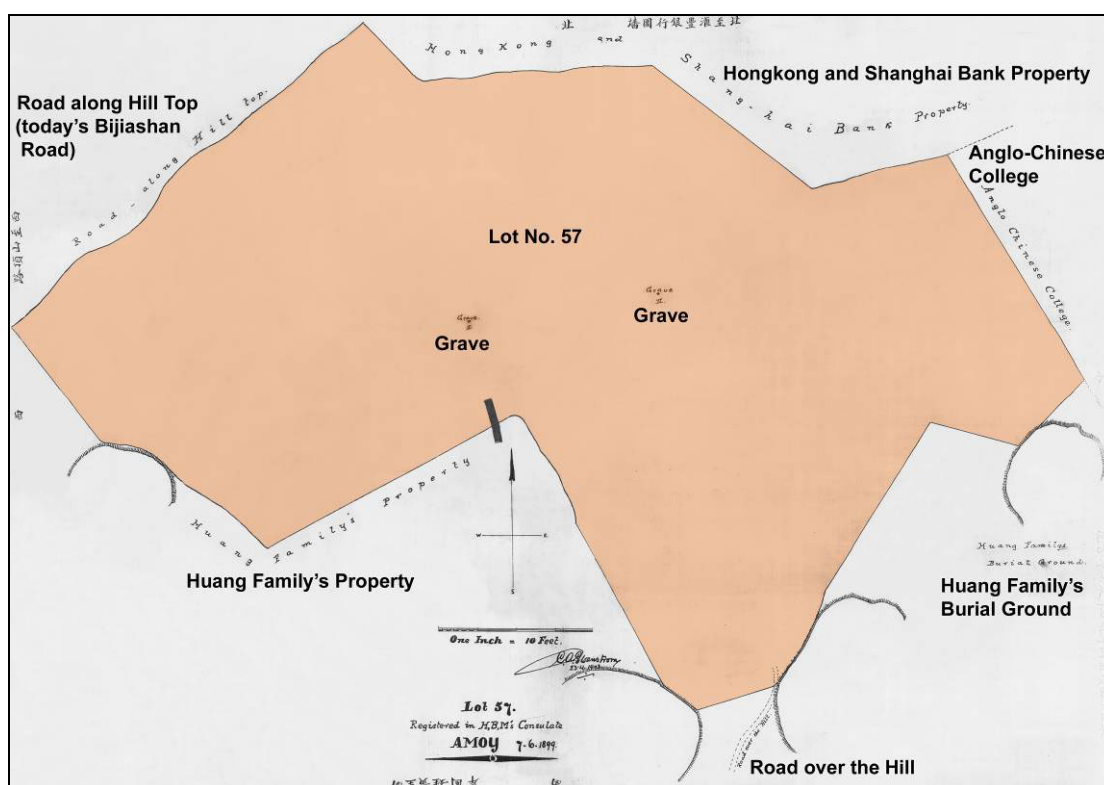
Family Property and Clanship

The formation of the Recreation Ground and its surrounding, as well as the Compound of Huang Family shows the priority of the neighbours in purchasing and renting lots. The right of *qinlin youxian* was extensively respected by the locals. Most of existing Chinese deeds stated that landholders already asked the permission of their family members and neighbours to transfer their properties. Otherwise, the latter retained the right of rendering the transactions null and void.³⁹ This custom was developed from the family-based social structure, because family members always congregated and cultivated together. Moreover, some large families had public properties, such as land, houses and ancestral halls, etc. Thus, the right of *qinlin youxian* in essence protected the interest of clans.

Following the land exchange system and respecting indigenous customs, the foreigners could continue to rent neighboring land to form larger compounds. As I have mentioned before, the E. P. M. sited the Anglo-Chinese College at Lizhizhai in 1901. Since then, they successively rented many lots at the foot of Bijia Hill. The land amalgamation resulted in a spacious campus for the Anglo-Chinese College, which has been used till today. The existing title deeds and the attached former deeds showed that, the area had been cultivated by Huang Family in the early Qing. At the end of the nineteenth century, family members of Huangsimei Hall 黄四美堂 begun to lease their land to foreigners. Finally, the E. P. M. rented most of the land from this Family.

³⁹ Ma, *Cong chuantong dao jindai*, 156; 164-5.

Huangchenshi 黄陈氏, a member of Huangsimei Hall leased a plot of land to Thomasine Charlotte Nicholls. It was registered at the British Consulate as the Lot No. 57 on 7th June, 1899. As this map shows, the lot was bounded on the north by the property of Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, south by Huang family's property, east by Huang family's burial ground, and west by a road along the hill top. (Map 6.5) The E. P. M. obtained this property on 19th January, 1907, and it became a part of the campus of the Anglo-Chinese College.⁴⁰ It is worth noticing that “the road along hill top” became today's Bijiashan Road.

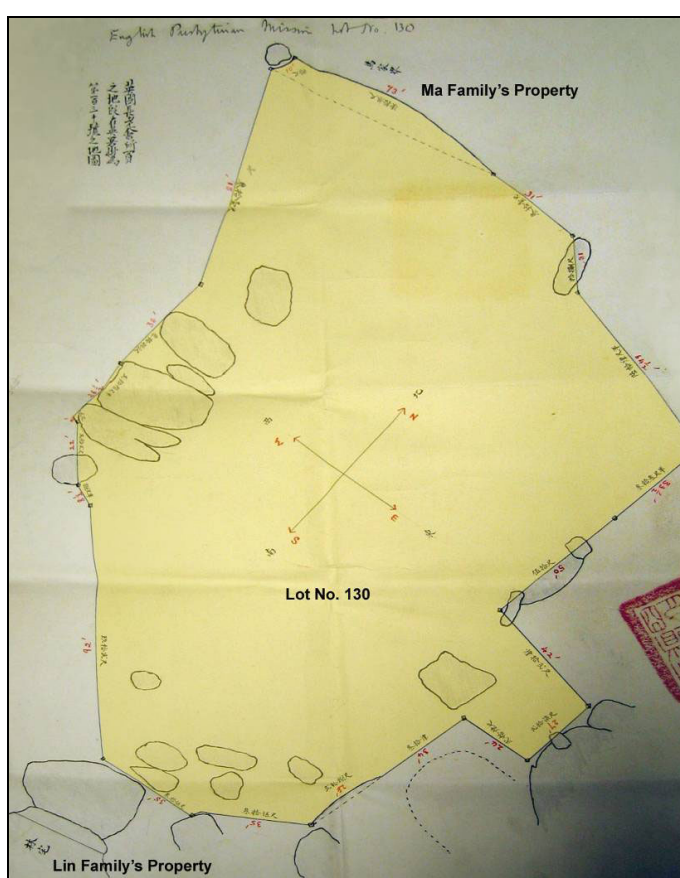


Map 6.5 Map of Lot No. 57, 1899. (Source: PRO, FO678: 109)

Seven years later, because of the shortage of funds to repair their ancestral hall, Huangsimei Hall decided to lease a part of their public land to their neighbour – E. P. M. Interestingly, the deed showed that they did not ask around the family members

⁴⁰ Amoy: Lot No. 57 Nicholls, T. C. 1899, PRO, FO 678: 109.

and neighbours, because it was a family property and they thought this foreign mission as their neighbour already. As the Master Deed 总契 of the land could not be separated, they prepared a deed with a map to state the boundary of the lot in order to guarantee this deal. Five senior members representing each branch were selected to sign on the deed.⁴¹ The lot was registered by E. P. M. at the British Consulate as Lot No. 130 on 24th Dec. 1914.⁴² (Map 6.6)



Map 6.6 Map of Lot No. 130, 1914. (Source: PRO, FO68: 46)

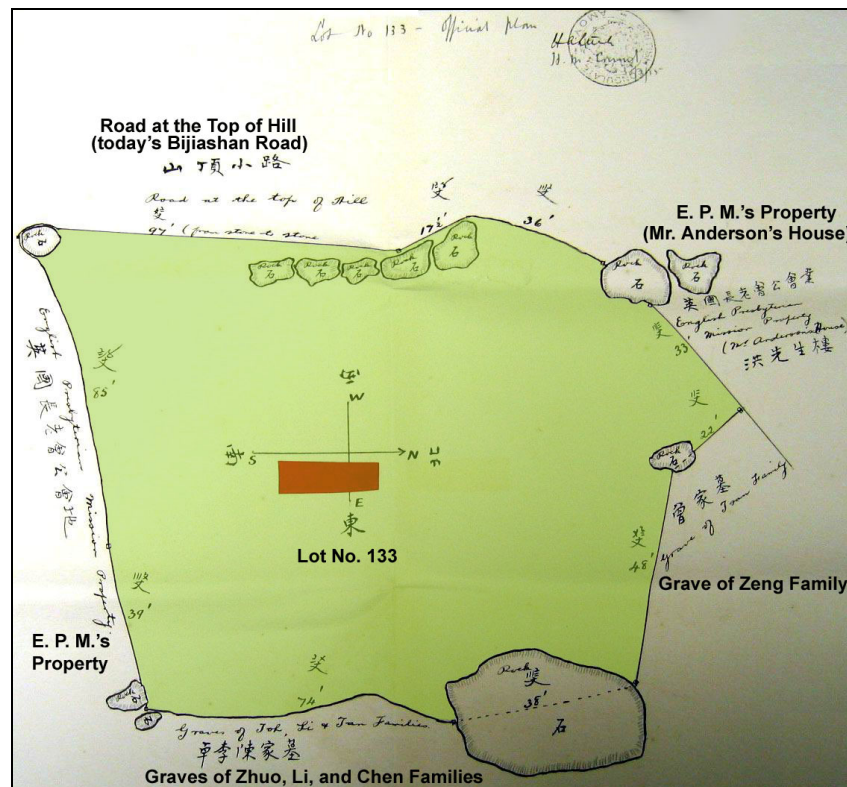
One year later, E. P. M. obtained the plot of land between the Lot No. 57 and Lot No. 130, which was owned by Zhong Maoling (Chung Mo Ling 钟懋龄). However, the lot was a former property of Huang Family. According to the former deeds, Huang

⁴¹ These senior members included Huang Shichen 黄世琛, Huang Shiqu 黄世球, Huang Wushi 黄吴氏, Huang Zongjun 黄宗浚, Huang Chenshi 黄陈氏.

⁴² Amoy: Lot No. 130 English Presbyterian Mission, 1914, PRO, FO 678: 46.

Yong 黄雍 inherited the lot from his father and sold it to his family brother Huang Yaozong 黄耀宗 in 1745. Four years later, he was not satisfied with the lot. Since no family member would take over the lot, he was allowed to sell it to Ma Family in 1749. Since then, the lot became a property of Ma Family for around one hundred and fifty years. Finally, it was inherited by Zhong's mother – a descendant of Ma Family. After being approved by the Siming Magistrate on 30th March, 1915, the Mission registered the lot at the British Consulate as Lot No. 133 on 4th December, 1915.⁴³

(Map 6.7)



Map 6.7 Map of Lot No. 133, 1915. (Source: PRO, FO678: 47)

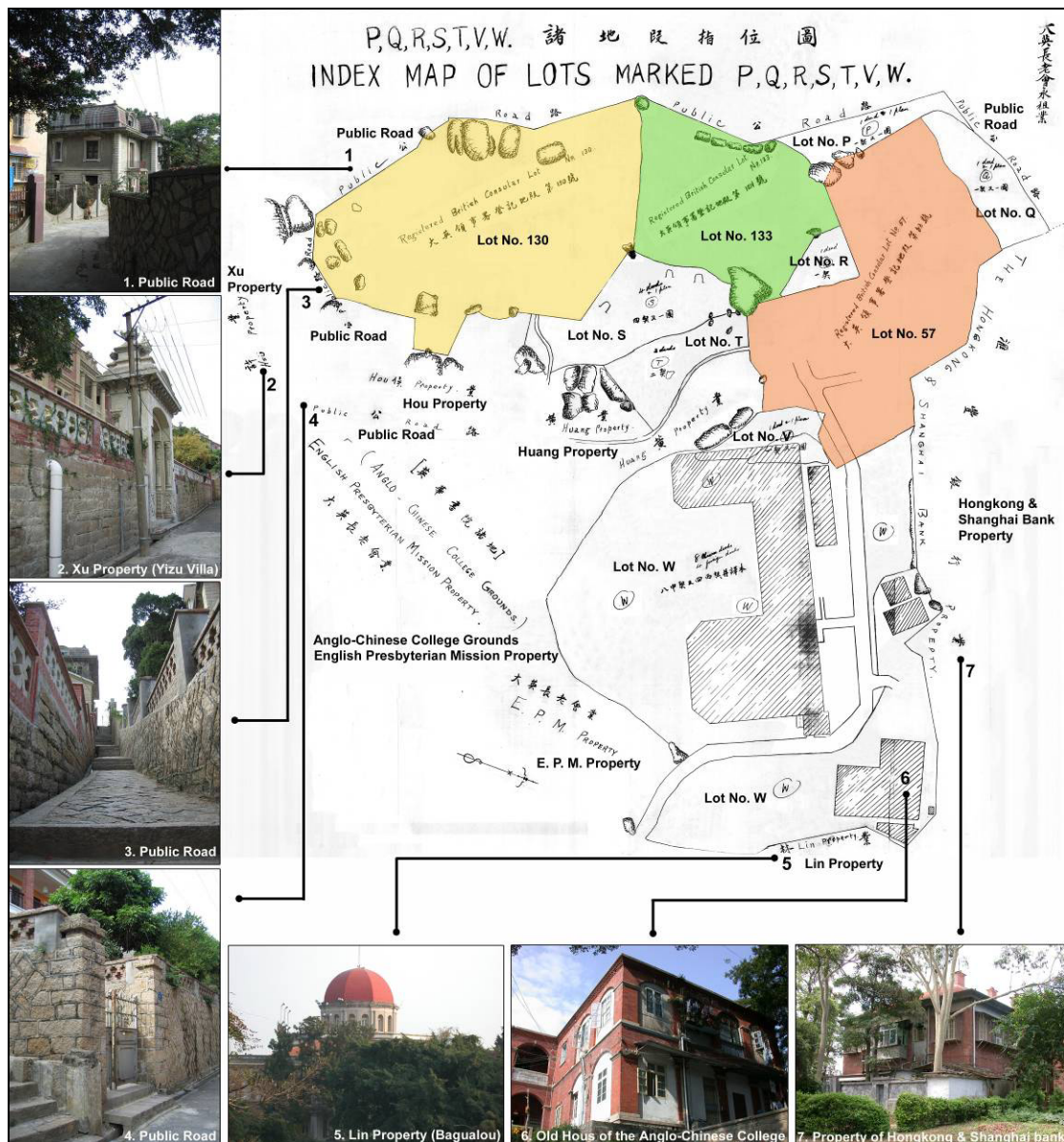
In order to register other lots in this area, E. P. M. presented an index map of the Anglo-Chinese College to local authorities on 19th October, 1928. In this map, we can see that the above mentioned three lots were adjacent and formed a large plot. The

⁴³ Amoy: Lot No. 133 English Presbyterian Mission, 1915, PRO, FO 678: 47.

small lots around them were also obtained by the mission. Although the registration of these lots was suspended by local authorities for unknown reasons, they became a part of the Anglo-Chinese College.⁴⁴ Comparing the map with the present setting of the College, we could find that the surrounding roads and neighbouring properties, such as those of the Lin Family, Xu Family, and Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, have been maintained till now. (Map 6.8)

The formation of the Anglo-Chinese College's campus clearly shows that this area had been cultivated by Huang Family in the early days. The family members owned many parcels of land and also owned a large piece of public land. Due to the stability of the Chinese families, these properties have been inherited for generations. Moreover, the boundaries of these lots and the urban structure of this area had been recorded in the deeds and maintained for centuries. Eventually, E. P. M. followed the land exchange system to obtain land from the locals. After settling on this area, the mission was recognized as a neighbour and further secured more neighbouring lots. It is not surprising to see that these changes took place within the original urban network.

⁴⁴ As the cover of the document shows, "deed sent to Ssu-ming Hsien 25 October, 1928. Registration refused by the Magistrate." Amoy: Lot No. 165 English Presbyterian Mission, Kulangsu, 1928, PRO, FO 678: 44.



Map 6.8 Map of the Anglo-Chinese College, 1928. It shows the formation of the campus and its surrounding in 2004. The roads and properties recorded in the deeds have been maintained. (Source: PRO, FO678: 44)

Respecting Indigenous Custom

According to Qing's laws, certain grounds could not be cultivated, especially those with graves.⁴⁵ Xiamen people had their particular customs while developing land. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, they believed that graves and rocks would

⁴⁵ Meadows, "Remarks on Alienation of Real Property in China," 562-4.

affect the fortune of families and need to be protected. These customs were reflected in deeds and to certain extent affected future development of the land.

From 1909 to 1922, Lin Wenqing successively rented parcels of land at Bijia Hill. He registered the first four lots (Lot No. 124, 125 and 126) at the British Consulate on 9th Nov. 1910. On 1st April 1930, he and his wife – Yin Bixia (Grace Pekha Lim 殷碧霞) further registered another parcel of land as Lot No. 170. Thus, they constructed a grand house with spacious garden at the southern hillside of Bijia Hill. Although this compound is in a dilapidated state, its landscape shows the owner's particular respect to rocks in his property.

The Lot No. 124 was rented in perpetuity from Huang Yi 黄益 in 1909. It was bounded on the north and west by rocks, south and east by Compound of Lin. In the Chinese deed for Lin Wenqing, Huang stated that the lot was inherited from his grandfather as a property belonging to the Second Branch 二房 of Huang Family. The deed also showed that the lot was surrounded by other properties of Huang Family and its boundary was defined by rocks.⁴⁶ (Map 6.9, see the Lot No. C)

Huangyeshi (Mrs. Huang Yeh 黄叶氏), another member of Huang Family leased Lin Wenqing a parcel of land in 1909. It was registered as Lot No. 125 at the British Consulate. Similarly, this lot was a part of Huang Family's property and also bounded by rocks on its south and west and by a graveyard on its north.⁴⁷ According to former

⁴⁶ Amoy: Lot No. 124 Lim Boon King. 1910, PRO, FO 678: 80.

⁴⁷ Amoy: Lot No. 125 & 126 Lim Boon King. 1910, PRO, FO678: 81.

deeds, this lot was transferred by Huang Jiantao 黄建滔 to Huang Genjie 黄根节 in 1840. And the latter passed it to Mrs. Huang.⁴⁸ (Map 6.9, see the Lot No. B)

The Third Branch 三房 of Huang Family also leased two parcels of land to Lin Wenqing in 1909, which were registered as Lot No. 126.⁴⁹ The first one was managed by Huang Guanglian on behalf of this Branch. Although this lot was purchased from Chen Ruigong 陈瑞珙 in 1822, it was formerly owned by Huangwangshi 黄王氏 who sold it to Chen Guangbao 陈光苞 – father of Chen Ruigong in 1818. The second one was also a public property of this Branch. It was bought by Huang Fomin from Huang Foci 黄佛赐 in 1828. The deed carefully recorded that the lot was bounded on the east by a garden and an ancestral grave (exclusive of the grave), west by a big rock (exclusive of the well), south by a river (inclusive of the river), and north by a garden (exclusive of the old grave). The rocks, graves and well were retained and protected during the land transfers.⁵⁰ (Map 6.9, see the Lot No. A)

To expand their grounds, Lin Wenqing and Yin Bixia respectively rented the neighbouring lots from Huangsimei Hall in 1909, Huang Shuixin (Huang Bhui Hsin 黄水心) in 1911, Xu Chuncao in 1913, and Huangcaishi (Huang Chai 黄蔡氏) in 1922. Eventually, they formed a large lot that was bounded on the north by Xu Han's Property, south by Huang Zhonghan's property, east by lower Pit Kay San Road (Bijiaoshan Road) and properties of Zheng Bainian and Xu Han, west by Upper Pit

⁴⁸ Amoy: Lot No. 124 Lim Boon King. 1910, PRO, FO 678: 80.

⁴⁹ According to the deeds, the family members of this Branch included Huang Guanglian 黄光琰, Huang Fomin 黄佛敏, Huang Shenyong 黄神佑 and his wife Huanghongshi 黄洪氏, Huang Shenliao 黄神聊, Huang Shenzhu 黄神住 and Huang Wangyi 黄万益, etc.

⁵⁰ Amoy: Lot No. 125 & 126 Lim Boon King. 1910, PRO, FO678: 81.

Kay San Road (Bijiaoshan Road).⁵¹ It was registered at the British Consulate as Lot No. 170 in 1930. (Map 6.9)

Huangstimei Hall stated in the deed for Lin Wenqing that they decided to transfer this public lot because of the lack of money to repair their ancestral hall. Hence, the family member unanimously agreed to lease the lot to Lin in 1909. Moreover, they regulated that the tenant could not remove the graves within the boundary without their permission and could not damage Bijia Rock on the site. However, the suit between Lin Wenqing and Xu Chuncao shows that this deal was illegal because the lot had already been sold to the latter.⁵²

Huang Shuixin in his deed carefully recorded that he only transferred the upper part of this land to Lin Wenqing in September of 1911, because he had made a grave at the lower part that was separated from the upper one by a path. To certify his ownership, he passed three former deeds to Lin Wenqing. According to them, the lot had been transferred within Huang Family since 1835.⁵³ (Map 6.9, see Lot No. yi 乙)

The lot of Xu Chuncao was also a part of Huang Family's property and was bounded by many rocks. According to the former deeds, the lot was purchased by Huangfuji from Huang Yuan and Huang Miao 黄淼 in 1894. Later, he constructed two graves on the ground. His descendants, including Huang Xinju 黄新聚, Huangliangshi 黄梁氏, and Huang Wangyi 黄万益 transferred the lot to Xu Chuncao in 1911. After purchasing the lots, Xu Chuncao begun to build a villa on the

⁵¹ Amoy: Lot No. 170 Lim, Mrs. G. P. 1929, PRO, FO 678: 82.

⁵² Ibid.

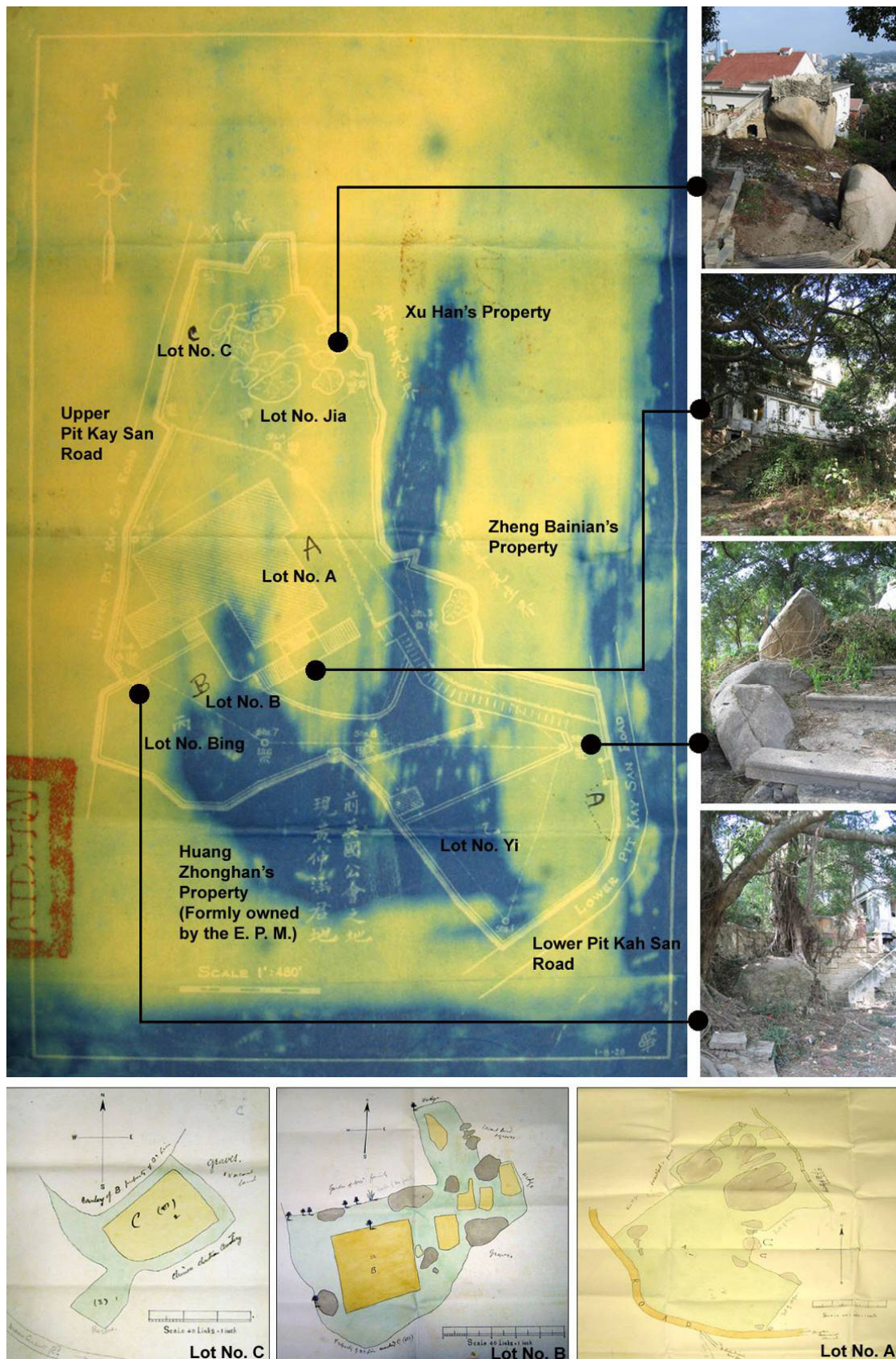
⁵³ The members of Huang Family involved in the transfer of the land were Huang Wuhu 黄五湖, Huang Zongli 黄宗礼, Huang Ti 黄体, Huang Yuan 黄圆, Huangfuji 黄福记, Huang Wentian 黄文填, Huang Hanzhong 黄汉中, etc. Ibid.

site. However, the project was interrupted by the Council and the Mixed Court, because they were informed that the lot was sold by Huangstimei and Huang Chunhui 黄春晖 to Lin Wenqing in the same year. The Mixed Court ruled in favour of Xu Chuncao and certified his ownership. Mediated by a middleman, he decided to transfer his premises to Lin Wenqing in 1913.⁵⁴ (Map 6.9, see Lot No. *bing* 丙)

Because most of the surrounding lots had been leased to Lin Wenqing, Huangcaishi thought the *fengshui* of the ancestral burial grounds in her ground had been damaged. Then she agreed to move the graves and lease two lots of land to Yin Bixia in 1922. (Map 6.9, see the Lot No. *jia* 甲 in the map.)

This area at the southern slope of Bijia Hill had been cultivated by Huang Family in the early days. And seven lots were respectively owned by their family members. Although Huangwangshi once sold her land to Chen Family in 1818, it was taken back by Huang Family soon and most of the early land transfers took place among family members. Deserving mention was that rocks were used to define the boundaries in these deeds. They were retained as important landmarks that were recognized by owners and the public who had certain geographical knowledge of these sites. Moreover, these deeds also show that the graves were largely protected due to indigenous customs. Although so far there is no data of how Lin Wenqing planned his residence, the present landscape of this compound showed his concern about the rocks and graves in his ground. (Map 6.9)

⁵⁴ Amoy: Lot No. 170 Lim, Mrs. G. P. 1929, PRO, FO 678: 82.



Map 6.9 Map of the Lot No. 170, 1930. It shows the formation of the Compound of Lin Wenqing and the rocks preserved in the site. (Source: PRO, FO678: 82)

Summary

After the First Opium War, foreigners' acquisition of real estates in China became imperative. However, it is impossible for foreign powers to apply their land exchange system in semi-colonial China, because Chinese political, economic, social and cultural systems still dominated the country. Under these circumstances, the system of rent-in-perpetuity was established on the basis of traditional Chinese land exchange system, and the title deed was created to protect Sino-Foreign land transaction. While the Chinese Government retained territorial sovereignty, foreigners could acquire real estates legally and minimize conflicts with the locals.

The study of the title deeds and Chinese deeds highlights the relationship between land alienation and urban transformation on Gulangyu. First of all, foreigners could obtain land from the locals through following traditional Chinese land exchange scheme and the later rent-in-perpetuity system. Due to different cultural backgrounds, foreigners preferred to rent spacious farmland, hillside land, or land along shores. Thus, the original Chinese neighbourhoods at the lower grounds were not much disturbed. Since the end of the nineteenth century, these lots were gradually secured by the Chinese.

Secondly, the geographical information on the lots, such as their locations and boundaries, were recorded in traditional Chinese deeds. Although the usage of land was changed, the spatial relationship between the properties and their surroundings was retained. Despite land amalgamation and the erection of eclectic architecture, the original urban structure has been preserved and roads defining the properties had improved during the Municipal Period.

Thirdly, Gulangyu had been cultivated by the locals in the early days and the land had been inherited for generations. The priority of family members and neighbours in purchasing land continued to operate. It was also followed by foreigners, who could obtain neighbouring lots to form larger properties. Moreover, indigenous customs were recorded in the deeds and respected by their tenants. It partially led to the preservation of rocks, graves and other natural elements in the lots. Thus, original urban structure and geographical features could be retained due to the continuity of the land exchange system, the social norms and indigenous customs.

Conclusion:

Urban Transformation in Semi-colonial China

Being a remote island along the Southeast coast of China, Xiamen attracted the attention of the imperial authorities as a result of increasing pirates' attacks. Owing to its strategic location and geographical advantages, it became one of the garrisons guarding the coastline and was planned in consideration of its topography. In order to control this "restless" place and to "pacify" the local people, the Qing Court set up a sophisticated military and civil system. This policy was imprinted on the urban setting of Xiamen and a developed urban structure took shape before the First Opium War.

Xiamen's history is short, comparing with other Chinese provincial capital cities. However, it already had a sophisticated urban system before the British invasion – the Chinese community was structured by the *baojia* system, and the land alienation was controlled by the traditional land exchange system. Due to long lasting interactions with outside world, local authorities learned to utilize local forces and conflicts among foreign countries to constrain the growth of colonial power. The open and pragmatic spirit made Xiamen people receptive to foreign culture. At the same time, they insisted on traditional social norms and indigenous customs, such as clanship, religious beliefs, and ancestral worship, etc. In addition, they fostered a particular attitude towards natural elements and graves while developing land.

Being a part of Xiamen, Gulangyu was also affected by the above political, economic, social, and cultural factors. Before the First Opium War, Gulangyu had

been cultivated by the locals and was used to isolate dangerous outsiders and anchor leaky ships. Because of its military importance in controlling Xiamen, Gulangyu was occupied by the British troops from 1841 to 1845. This forced the locals to flee inland, which resulted in their properties to turn into ruins. After the British evacuation, local people gradually resumed their normal life.

This study showed that there were some villages, with a population of three to five thousands people on Gulangyu before the British invasion. Two developed neighbourhoods – Neicuoao and Yanzaijiao – were established under the control of the *baojia* system. Developing along the waters and close to farm land, they had their own neighbourhood temples, sharing a neighbourhood granary. Many jetties and roads were set up. A primary urban structure generating from the locals' concepts of natural environment took shape in the early nineteenth century. Due to the stability of Chinese society and family structure, Chinese social norms and indigenous customs continued to be enforced. Hence, this primary urban structure was not immediately affected by the political events.

Since 1860s, most foreigners in Xiamen had resided on Gulangyu and had rented land according to their personal preferences for sites. Following the land exchange system, they adhered to the existing transportation system instead of changing it. Despite their eclectic appearances, the spatial relationship between foreigners' compounds and their surrounding did not change much. Unlike the family-centered Chinese society, the small foreign community was much concerned with public facilities. An autonomous Road Committee was established before 1876 to serve this international community. Most of foreign buildings had been constructed and were

interwoven with the primary urban network. Consequently, a developed urban structure came into being before 1903.

With the establishment of Gulangyu International Settlement in 1902, a semi-colonial administration was introduced and operated on this island. The analysis of the five areas on Gulangyu surprisingly showed that the urban structure formed before 1903 was largely retained during the Municipal Period. Foreign properties at Luerjiao were gradually taken over by returning overseas Chinese, whilst its old road network was preserved. The Chinese neighbourhood (Yanzaijiao) and its neighbourhood temple (Xingxiangong) were maintained. At the same time, overseas Chinese with Fujian background and customs like the locals constructed their houses at the edge of this neighbourhood. While the old settlement at Neicuoao and its neighbourhood temple (Zhongdegong) were retained, the old road network was extended to the then flourishing area at Shulanhuaajiao and linked with the new civic center at Lingjiao, where many Chinese Christians and missionary constructions were concentrated. The urban fabric of Tianwei had taken shape before 1903 and was retained during the Municipal Period despite the change of land ownership. Along the eastern shore, much reclamation was undertaken by private efforts whilst old jetties continued in operation. Although the regular layout of this area distinguished it from other parts of Gulangyu, the roads linking the old jetties and neighbourhoods were not affected by this reclamation.

This study revealed that the original urban structure formed on Gulangyu before 1903 was well utilized during the Municipal Period. However, not all foreign settlements undergone the same transformation as Gulangyu, despite similar municipal operations. In Shanghai and other treaty ports, the concessions and

international settlement presented different urban landscapes. Although the reasons for such a development on Gulangyu were equally complex and multifaceted, this study highlighted how the political, economic, social and cultural factors of semi-colonial China affected urban developments of modern Chinese cities in their respective context.

First of all, the Chinese Government could maintain certain jurisdiction and territorial sovereignty in concessions and international settlements. That is especially so on Gulangyu that was ceded to foreign forces by the Qing Court voluntarily. Guided by the Land Regulations and Bye-laws, the Municipal Council carried out Western ideas of municipal governance. As a result, the living environment of Gulangyu was improved and it became an oasis in the unstable social situation at that time, which subsequently resulted in construction booms in the 1920s and 30s. However, the complex power relationships in semi-colonial China limited the development of this Settlement. It was impossible to establish a complete colonial system along Western lines, due to “China’s sovereignty, economical self-sufficiency, cultural uniqueness and national pride.”¹ The cooperation of local forces and adaptation of indigenous customs were imperative for the survival of a small enclave like Gulangyu. In addition, the tension between colonial powers also constrained the administration of the Municipal Council.

Secondly, the nature and context of foreign settlements resulted in the manifestation of different urban developments, verified in this study of Gulangyu. The residential essence of the Gulangyu International Settlement contributed to the

¹ Murphey, *Outsiders*, 9.

preservation of its original urban structure. Because of limited commercial activities on Gulangyu, the Municipal Council could not raise sufficient funds and therefore could not carry out any thorough urban reformation, unlike other concessions with commercial importance. At the same time, the Municipal Council was also especially concern about the natural environment to improve the amenities of the Settlement.

Thirdly, the influence of the land exchange system on the urban development of modern Chinese cities was crucial, especially on Gulangyu where foreigners directly rented land from the locals and private forces largely engaged in urban development. Evolved from the traditional Chinese land exchange scheme, the rent-in-perpetuity system not only accommodated foreigners' needs of real properties in China, but also conveyed Chinese social norms and indigenous customs to foreign tenants. Title deeds and annexed Chinese deeds not only guaranteed Sino-Foreign land transactions, but also minimized conflicts between foreigners and locals. Hence, land amalgamations were confined within the original urban structure despite the change of landholders.

Fourthly, it is necessary to consider the stability and continuity of the traditional Chinese society and family structure while studying urban transformation of modern Chinese cities. With reference to land alienation, the land on Gulangyu had been cultivated by the locals and inherited for generations. Family members and neighbours had the priority of purchasing land belonging to their family and neighbours. Foreigners also benefited from this custom and expanded their properties through renting neighbouring land. At the same time, indigenous customs, such as respecting rocks and graves, were recorded in the deeds as part of the terms and conditions, even for transactions involving foreigners. The maintenance of traditional

social norms and indigenous custom made the preservation of the original urban structure possible.

The semi-colonial era, important in many aspects of the Chinese social, cultural, and economic history, is equally critical in the urban history of Chinese cities. The way in which we evaluate Western influence on the developments of modern Chinese cities is also critical. This study of the urban transformation of Gulangyu reflects the diversity and complexity of urban development in modern Chinese cities. Despite similar municipal governance, the operations of municipal councils had to be adjusted for local contexts.

While I have written at length about the influences of Chinese tradition and indigenous customs, the urban development of cities did not correspond neatly with the clear divisions of these events, despite being partially influenced. No matter what factors were involved, urban structural changes need to be carefully investigated, because the evolution of city forms was affected not only by political events, but by the wider economic, social, and cultural contexts too. The birth of new urban structures and forms could only happen after the gradual erosion of traditional social norms by Western ideas.

Although the urban structure on Gulangyu did not change much with the establishment of the Gulangyu International Settlement, the achievements of its municipal governance had an indirect but extensive influence on the modern development of Xiamen. As Rhoads Murphey commented, although the influences of treaty ports on the rest of the country were limited, “they did contain the seeds of fundamental change.” He continued, “the Chinese intellectuals found the example of

the modern West in the treaty ports as a source of new strength to cure for China's poverty, political weakness, and technological backwardness."²

As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, the urban situation of Xiamen in the beginning of the twentieth century was not very different from that before the First Opium War of 1841 – the city was crowded and unsanitary, lacking urban management. The orderly and clean Gulangyu no doubt furnished a model for the local elites and stimulated the birth of large-scale municipal reforms in Xiamen in the 1920s. The Xiamen Municipal Council was mooted in 1919 and founded in the next year by the Chinese. It is not surprising to see that the Chinese councilor of the Gulangyu Council Board – Lin Erjia – was elected as the first director of this Chinese Council. Many wealthy overseas Chinese settling on Gulangyu were the key members of this Council. In addition, many ordinances of this Council inherited from the Bye-laws of the Gulangyu International Settlement. The large-scale civil reformatations were undertaken when the ambitious naval force took over Xiamen in 1924 and a large amount of capitals flowed into Xiamen with the return of overseas Chinese.³

Integrating with the political ambition of local authorities, the financial support of overseas Chinese, as well as the nationalism of local elites, the municipal reforms in Xiamen resulted in a radical urban transformation which was different from Gulangyu – walls of the town were torn down; streets were straightened and widened and further flanked with modern buildings; municipal parks were constructed; etc. It demonstrated the Chinese efforts to destroy the old urban structure that was regarded

² Murphey, "A History of the City in Monsoon Asia," 41-2.

³ For more details of the municipal reformatations in Xiamen in the 1920s and 30s, see Chou, "Treaty Port in Modern China: Xiamen's Urban Development as a Case Study (1900-1937)," 156-68, 320-1.

⁵ Esherick, "Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City," 4.

as “stagnant” and their desire to bring forth a modern urban landscape to meet the nationwide quest for international recognition.⁵ Similar municipal ideas have had different outcomes. We can be certain that the establishment of the municipal governance was insufficient in modeling a new urban form and political dominance was crucial in carrying out revolutionary reforms. The gradual and smooth urban transformation of Gulangyu not only reflected the continuity of the Chinese social norms, but also mirrored the weak political position of the Gulangyu International Settlement in semi-colonial China.

The current construction boom in China once again demonstrates the Chinese “answer” to the challenges of globalization and modernization. Chinese cities are undergoing unparalleled urban transformation. As Heng Chye Kiang wrote, “although the outcome of this urban transformation is still uncertain, wise political directives and good administrative guidelines are critical to a favorable outcome of the current urban construction fever.”⁶ Gulangyu’s urban experience reminds us to rethink the possibility of respecting indigenous customs and existing urban structure while “attempting to construct cities that would be both modern and Chinese.”⁷

⁶ Heng Chye Kiang, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: the Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1999), 209.

⁷ Esherick, “Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City,” 1.

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Appendix 1: lian baojia yimi daozei 联保甲以弭盗贼 [Unite paou and keă, in order to extirpate robbery and theft]

Review: The Sacred Edict, containing sixteen maxims of the Emperor Kanghe, amplified by his son, the Emperor Yungching; together with a paraphrase on the whole, by a mandarin. Translated from the Chinese original, and illustrated with notes. By the Rev. William Milne, Protestant missionary at Malacca. Pp.229, 8vo. London: 1817. Printed for Black, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen.

No. 15: Unite the paou and keă, in order to extirpate robbery and theft.

No method of suppressing these evils is equal to “the law of the paou and the keă.” Ten families form a keă, and ten keă constitute a paou. Every keă has its elder, and every paou its chief. A register is prepared, and the names of all are enrolled. On the highways sheds are erected, where the military, who keep watch, may lodge; at the ends of every street and lane there are gates, where bells are placed, and lamps furnished with oil; and after nine o’clock at night, walking must not be allowed. – Henceforth let all these things be rigorously put in execution.

But notwithstanding all this, and the fact that the work of extirpation has long been in full operation, still thefts and robberies multiply day after day, so that the country cannot obtain rest. The reasons for this “are about three, viz. the unfaithfulness of local officers; the influence of shameless country squires; and the fact that the people are not careful to observe the rules of the keă and paou.

(Source: Chinese Repository 1, no. 8 (December, 1832): 313.)

Appendix 2: Land Regulations for the Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy

Printed at the Mah-Shing Printing Office, Amoy.

(1)

Preamble

Whereas China establishes Kulangsu as a Settlement, in order that due provision may be made for constructing roads and jetties, and keeping them, and existing roads and jetties in repair, for cleansing, lighting, watering and draining the Settlement, establishing and maintaining a Police force thereon, making Sanitary Regulations, paying the wages and salaries of persons employed in any Municipal Office or capacity and for raising the necessary funds for any of the purposes aforesaid, the following regulations are hereby drafted and submitted to the Chinese Foreign Office for discussion with the Foreign Ministers and subsequent confirmation by Imperial Rescript.

Limits of the Settlement.

1. — The limits of the Settlement wherein these Regulations shall be binding are an imaginary line drawn at 100 feet outside low water mark round the Island of Kulangsu, lying W. S. W. of the Island of Amoy and having roughly speaking an area of a little over 1 ½ square miles.

Annual General Meetings.

2. — It being necessary and expedient that provision be made for the appointment of a Municipal Council for the management of Municipal matters, the Senior Consul for the time being shall, in the month of January in each year, call a general meeting of voters, to attend which the Taotai shall depute a Chinese gentlemen of good standing, who shall afterwards be *ex officio* a member of the Council, for the passing of accounts for the previous year, for the election of a Council and to make provision for the payment of Municipal expenses during the current year, and for the transaction of such other business as may lawfully pertain to the Municipality. Ten days' notice shall be given of such meeting and at the meeting the Chair shall be taken by the Senior Consul present. It shall be competent for such meeting duly assembled, for a majority thereof including proxies for owners of land or houses, who may be absent from the port and who are qualified voters, to impose and levy rates and issue licenses for the purposes mentioned in the Bye-Laws and to declare an assessment in the form of a rate on lands and/or houses and other buildings, and it shall also be competent for the said meeting or a majority thereof as aforesaid to impose other rates and taxes in the form of dues on all goods landed and/or stored within the said limits. Provided the said rates and taxes levied in the form of dues shall in no case exceed the amount of ¼ of one per centum on

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the value of goods so landed and/or stored. And it shall also be competent for the said meeting or a majority thereof to impose taxes in such other forms as may appear requisite and necessary.

Special Meetings.

3. — The Senior Consul for the time being may of his own motion or at the written request of any one or more of the Consuls, of the Council, or of any 10 voters call a special or extraordinary meeting of ratepayers for the transaction of any business of the Municipality not provided for as the Annual General Meeting. In all such cases he shall give 10 days public notice and set forth the object for which the meeting is called. The Chair shall be taken at the meeting in the same manner as provided at the Annual General Meeting. All resolutions bearing on the special object of the meeting and passed by a majority of two-thirds of the qualified voters present at such meeting shall be valid and binding on the whole of the residents within the limits of the Settlement, if not less than 1/3 of the electors are present or are represented.

Provided always that all resolutions passed at any meeting whether general or special shall be submitted to the Consular Body for their approval, and without the approval of a majority of the Consular Body officially given, no resolution shall be operative.

Municipal Council.

4. — The Municipal Council shall consist of 5 or 6 persons, who shall be elected by ballot of qualified voters at the Annual General Meeting, together with the Chinese gentlemen appointed by the Taotai, and shall hold office until the election of their successors at the next following Annual General Meeting.

Qualifications of voters.

The following persons are qualified to vote at all public meetings of ratepayers: -

1. — Foreign owners of land on Kulangsu registered at a Consulate and of an assessed value of not less than \$1,000.

2. — Authorized Agents or Proxies of land owners as above who are absent from the Port.

3. — Foreign annual taxpayers of \$5 and upwards exclusive of license fees.

Qualifications of Councillors.

The following persons are qualified for election as Councillors:—

1. — Foreign owners of real estate on Kulangsu of an assessed value of not less than \$5,000.
2. — Foreign Residents on Kulangsu paying rates on an assessed annual rental of \$400 and over, whether such rental or rates be paid by the firm, society or company to which they belong or by themselves personally. Provided always that only one member of such firm, society or company or one occupant of any house be eligible to sit on any one Council.

Vacancies in the Council.

In case of a vacancy or vacancies occurring during their tenure of office, the existing Council shall have power to fill up such vacancy or vacancies by the vote of the majority of the Council. If the Chinese membership become vacant, a new appointment will be made by the Taotai. The Council shall enter upon their office as soon as they are elected and the accounts of the retiring Council have been passed at the Annual General Meeting. At their first meeting the new Council shall elect a Chairman and Vice-Chairman. On all questions in which the members of the Council present at Council Meetings are equally divided in opinion the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote. At such meetings 3 members shall constitute a quorum.

In the above clause the term “foreign” is to be interpreted as meaning persons not of Chinese race, and does not include persons of that race who may by birth or naturalization abroad have become the subjects of foreign countries.

Powers of Council.

5. — When in pursuance of these Regulations the Council shall have been duly elected all the powers, authority and control conferred by the Bye-Laws now sanctioned and annexed to these Regulations and all the rights and property which by such Bye-Laws are declared to belong to any Council elected as aforesaid shall vest in the absolutely belong to such Council and to their successors in office.

Framing and amendment of Bye-Laws

And such Council shall have power and authority from time to time to make other Bye-Laws for the better enabling them to carry out the objects of these Regulations and to repeal, alter, or amend any such Bye-Laws, provided such other Bye-Laws be not repugnant to the provisions of these Regulations and be duly confirmed and published;

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and provided also that no Bye-Laws made by the Council under the authority of these Regulations except such as relate solely to their Council or their officers or servants shall come into operation until passed and agreed upon by the Taotai and the Treaty Consuls, approved by the Chinese Government and the Foreign Ministers in Peking, and the ratepayers in public meeting assembled.

Municipal Officers and Servants.

6. — The Council may from time to time appoint such Police and other officers and servants as they think necessary for carrying out these Regulations and fix the salaries, allowances, and wages of such officers and servants and may pay the same out of Municipal Funds and make Rules and Regulations for the government of such officers and servants and may discontinue or remove any of them from time to time as they shall think fit. Provided always that no officers shall be appointed for a longer period than 3 years without the consent of the electors duly convened.

Defaulters.

7. — It shall be lawful for the said Council or their Secretary to sue all defaulters in the payment of all assessments, rates, taxes and dues whatsoever levied under these Regulations and of all fines and penalties leviabale under the Bye-Laws annexed to them, in the Consular and other Courts under whose jurisdiction such defaulters may be and to obtain payment of the same by such means as shall be authorized by the Courts in which such defaulters are sued.

Council how to be sued.

8. — The Council may sue and be sued in the name of their Secretary for the time being or in their corporate capacity or character as “Council for the Settlement of Kulangsu.”

Court of Consuls

All proceedings against the said Council or their Secretary shall be commended and prosecuted before a “Court of Foreign Consuls” which shall be established at the beginning of each year by the Consular Body. Provided always that the individual members of the Council or their Secretary shall not be personally responsible for any act done by the authority of the Council, but only the property of the Council.

Land.

9. — The existing system of purchasing and transferring land by foreigners and the registration at the Chinese Yamen and the Consulates of purchases and transfers shall continue in force.

Public property to vest in Council.

10. — The title in all existing public roads, jetties and cemeteries and in all Municipal lands and buildings shall vest in the Council, and should more land be required for similar purposes it shall be lawful for the Council to acquire it at a price to be agreed on between themselves and the proprietors.

If the proprietors be unwilling to sell or surrender and if it appear to the Council necessary in the public interest that such land should be acquired for new roads, extension and widening of existing roads, for public works or for purpose of sanitation, the matter shall be referred to the Court of Consuls. Should it then appear to the Court that the contention of the Council is reasonable and for the public interest, the Court shall after hearing the parties and calling for evidence determine the compensation (if any) to be paid or given for the land so required and for the buildings (if any) thereon, and in respect of any tenancy of the said land or buildings respectively taking into consideration the increase or decrease in value of the remainder of the property, and the surrender of the land, on the terms of the award and finding of the Court, shall be compulsory, and, in case of need, be enforced by the Court or Courts having jurisdiction over the owners and occupiers of the land. No jetties or wharves shall be constructed without the consent of the Council and the approval of the Harbor Master first obtained.

Landtax.

11. — The Emperor of China being as heretofore Lord of the Soil, the Government land tax and foreshore tax will continue to be collected by the Chinese authorities. Such taxes will however be handed over to the Council as a contribution to the expenses. The tax on any foreshore that may hereafter accrete will be retained by the Chinese Government and not handed over to the Council.

Mixed Court.

12. — The Chinese Government will further establish on Kulangsu a Mixed Court on the lines of the Mixed Court at Shanghai and will appoint an experienced officer to preside thereat with a sufficient staff. Such officer will receive special authority from the Taotai of Amoy and the Foreign Board of Fohkien empowering him to deal with all Police cases occurring within the Settlement and in which Chinese are the defendants.

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In case of a more serious crime being committed by a Chinese the accused shall, after preliminary examination at the Mixed Court, be handed over with a report on the case to the territorial officials to take his trial.

The Mixed Court will also be empowered to deal with all civil cases in which any Chinese resident in the Settlement is defendant and any judgment given by him in such cases shall be executed if necessary by the territorial officials on the mainland and in Amoy.

Provided always that in any case whether civil or criminal in which a foreigner is concerned, the Consul of his nationality or an officer deputed by him shall sit as an assessor with the Mixed Court Magistrate.

Appeal.

Should the Assessor dissent from the finding of the Mixed Court Magistrate the case may be appealed to a higher Court consisting of the Taotai, with the Consul of the foreigner's nationality as Assessor.

Counter-signature of warrants.

All warrants and summonses issued by the Mixed Court must, if the person to be arrested or summoned be residing on Foreign premises, be first taken to the Consul concerned for counter-signature. If such person be in Foreign employ but is not residing on Foreign premises the warrant need not be first countersigned by the Consul but it must be sent to him on the day it is issued and the Consul may if he sees fit cancel the warrant. In other cases the warrant need not be countersigned by a Consul. Special regulations for the procedure of the Mixed Court shall be drawn up by the Taotai in consultation with the Consular Body.

Arrest without warrant.

13. — The Municipal Police may arrest without special warrant any person discovered in the commission of any offence against the peace or good order of the Settlement, and may also execute the warrant of any Consul to arrest any person of such Consul's nationality. All persons arrested shall be taken with all reasonable dispatch before their proper Courts to be there dealt with according to law.

Rendition of criminals

14. — In the case of any crime being committed in Amoy or on the mainland, if the criminal take refuge in the Settlement, the Hsia Fang Ting will issue his warrant and send it with runners to the Senior Consul for counter-signature, and if the criminal be on

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foreign premises the counter-signature of the Consul specially concerned will also be required. The Municipal Police will then assist the runners in effecting the arrest and the criminal will be handed over. In urgent cases the criminal may be first arrested and the Consul notified afterwards in the same manner as is laid down in Clause 12.

Recovery of penalties under Bye-Laws.

15. — Any penalty or forfeiture or fees on licenses provided for in the Bye-Laws framed under the authority of these Regulations, and imposed in pursuance of such Bye-Laws, may be recovered by summary proceedings before the proper Consular or other authority, and it shall be lawful for such authority upon conviction to adjudge the offender to pay the penalty or incur the forfeiture as well as the costs attending the conviction, as such authority may think fit. All fines and penalties levied under these Regulations and the Bye-Laws framed under them shall be carried to the credit of the Council in diminution of the general public expenditure.

Future amendment of Regulations.

16. — Hereafter should any correction be requisite in these Regulations or should it be necessary to determine on further rules, or should doubts arise as to the construction of, or powers conferred thereby, the same must be consulted on and settled by the Foreign Consuls and local Chinese Authorities subject to confirmation by the Foreign Representatives and Supreme Chinese Government at Peking.

Signed at H. I. J. M. Consulate, Amoy, the 10th of January 1902.

(Sd.) Tao-Tai,

YEN NIEN

(,,) Marine Subprefect,

CHANG WEN CHIH.

(,,) Lekin Deputy,

CHENG HSU.

(,,) Foreign Affairs Deputy,

YANG JUNG CHUNG.

(,,) S. UYENO,

(8)

Senior Consul and Consul for Japan.

(,,) R. W. MANSFIELD,

H. B. M. Consul.

(,,) JOHN H. FESLER,

U. S. Consul.

(,,) B. KRAUSE,

H. G. M. Acting Consul.

(,,) A. BERNARD,

Agent Consulaire de France.

(,,) M. WOODLEY,

Acting Consul for Spain.

Acting Consul for Denmark.

(,,) AUGUST PIEHL,

Consul for the Netherlands and

Vice-Consul for Sweden & Norway.

Appendix 3: Bye-Laws for the Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy.

Printed at Man-Shing Printing Office, Amoy.

(1)

1. Control and Management of public sewers and drains.

The entire control and management of all public sewers and drains within the limits of the Settlement shall vest in and belong to the Council, and the expense of maintaining and cleansing them shall be defrayed out of Municipal Funds.

2. Supervision of private sewers and drains.

All sewers and drains on private property shall be under the supervision of the Council, and may be inspected at a fixed time by them or their authorized servants. Should such sewers or drains be found to be obstructed, or in a dirty condition, so as to be a source of danger to the public health, the Council shall call upon the owner of the property to effect such alterations or apply such remedies as may seem necessary. Should the owner, or, in his absence the occupier, of the property after one week have failed to take steps towards remedying the evil, the Council may cause the necessary work to be done, and the expense thereof shall be recoverable from the owner or in his absence the occupier, in the Court of his nationality together with a fine not exceeding *Seven Dollars*.

3. Obstruction of roads.

Every person who willfully obstructs, takes up or makes any alternation in any road under the management of the Council, except with the written consent of the Council, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Ten Dollars*.

4. Removal of obstruction of roads, & c.

The Council may give notice to the occupier of any house or building to remove or alter any porch, verandah, shed, projecting window, step, sign, wall, gate, or fence, or any other obstruction or projection erected or placed against or in front of any house or building and which is an obstruction to the safe and convenient passage along any road or street. And such occupier shall within 14 days remove such obstruction or projection and in default thereof shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Seven Dollars*, and in such case the Council may remove such obstruction or projection and the expense of such removal shall be paid by the occupier so making default and shall be recoverable as damages. Provided always that in the case in which such obstructions or projections

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were put up by the owner the occupier shall be entitled to deduct the expense of removing the same from the rent payable by him to the owner.

5. Occupier to keep premises and road in front clean.

All occupiers of land or houses shall cause the road in front of their houses to be swept and cleansed whenever occasion shall require after receipt of notice served upon them, and they shall also cause to be swept and cleansed all gutters and surface drains in the front side, or rear of their premises, and remove all accumulation of soil ashes, or rubbish, and every occupier making default herein shall for every offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Five Dollars* or imprisonment for three days.

6. Removing night-soil, & c. at undue hours.

The Council may from time to time fix the hours within which only it shall be lawful to empty privies, or remove offensive matter within the limits of the Settlement; and when the Council have fixed such hours and given public notice thereof every person who within such limits empties or begins to empty any privy, or moves along any thoroughfare any offensive matter at any time except within the hours so fixed, and also every person who at any time whether such hours have been fixed by the Council or not uses for any such purpose any utensil or pail or any cart or carriage not having a covering proper for preventing the escape of the contents or of the stench thereof, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Five Dollars* or in default to imprisonment not exceeding three days.

7. Stagnant ponds.

No person shall suffer any waste or stagnant water to remain in any place within any house belonging to or occupied by him or within or upon any waster land belonging to or in his occupation so as to be a nuisance; and every person who shall suffer any such water to remain for 48 hours after receiving notice from the Council to remove the same, and every person who allows the contents of any privy or cesspool to overflow or soak therefrom to the annoyance of the occupiers of any adjoining property, or who keeps any pig or pigs within any dwelling house so as to be a nuisance, shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Five Dollars*. And the Council may drain and cleanse out any stagnant pools, ditches or ponds of water within such limits, being a nuisance, and abate any such nuisance as aforesaid and for that purpose may enter by their officers and workmen into or upon any building or land within such limits at all reasonable times and do all necessary acts for any of the purposes aforesaid; and the expenses incurred thereby shall, after investigation by the Council into the rights of the case, be paid by the person committing such offence or occupying the building or land whence such annoyance proceeds, and if there be no occupier, by the owner of such building or land, and such expense shall be recoverable as damages.

8. Removal of rubbish heaps.

If any time in the opinion of the Council any accumulation of dung soil, or filth, or other obnoxious or offensive matter, ought to be removed as being injurious to the health of the inhabitants, the Secretary of the Council shall forthwith give notice to the owner or reputed owner of such dung soil or filth, or to the occupier of the land, who are to remove the same within 48 hours after such notice, and, in case of failure to comply with such notice, the Council, or any person with whom they have at any time contracted for the removal of all such refuse, may remove the same, and they may recover the expense of such removal from such occupier or owner in the same manner as damages.

9. Whitewashing and cleansing houses.

If at any time the Council consider that any house or part of any house or building within the limits is in such filthy or unwholesome condition that the health of the inmates of the neighboring houses is thereby affected or endangered, or that the whitewashing, cleansing or purifying of any house or building or any part thereof would tend to prevent or check infectious or contagious disease therein, or that any drain, privy or cesspool is in such a defective state that the health of the neighbors is thereby affected or endangered, the Council shall order the occupiers of such house or part thereof to whitewash, cleanse and purify the same, and the owner of such drain, privy or cesspool to amend the condition thereof in such manner and within such time as the Council deem reasonable; and if such occupier or owner do not comply with such order he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Seven Dollars* for each offence, and in such case the Council may cause such house or any part thereof to be whitewashed, cleansed and purified, or the condition of such drain, privy or cesspool to be amended and may recover the expense thereof from such occupier or owner in the same manner as damages.

10. Conservancy of wells.

The water supply of Kulangsu being derived from wells it is essential that the water in all wells situated on or adjacent to any public road, field or garden be preserved from contamination. Hereafter no privies, latrines, cesspools, manure heaps, or deposits of filth or refuse must be made or deposited in such proximity to any such well as the Council shall consider as likely to contaminate the water. In such case the Council shall give notice to the person so offending to remove the annoyance forthwith, and if within 48 hours it had not been so removed, he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Five Dollars* and the Council may of its own motion and at the expense of the person so offending remove the annoyance, and may recover the expense thereof in the same manner as damages.

11. Reporting deaths from plague.

All cases of death from bubonic plague, cholera, small pox and other infectious disease must be reported to the Council within 12 hours, and the Council will take such steps as may appear necessary for the disinfection of the premises on which the death has occurred. Should the occupants of the premises not be in a position to pay the expenses of such disinfection, the Council may in its discretion pay out of Municipal Funds the whole or any part of such expenses. Any head of a house or family failing to report a case of death as aforesaid, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Twenty Dollars* in the first case occurring, *Thirty Dollars* in the second case, and *Fifty Dollars* in all subsequent cases.

12. Obstructing scavengers.

Every occupier of any building or land within the Settlement, and every other person who refuses to permit the scavengers of the Council to remove such dirt, ashes or rubbish as by these Bye-Laws they are authorized to do, or who obstructs the said scavengers in the performance of their duty shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Twenty Five Dollars*.

13. No building to be erected without the sanction of the Council.

From and after the date that these Bye-Laws and Regulations come into effect no house or building may be erected without the plans being first submitted to the Council, and their sanction in writing first obtained. The Council may either refuse such sanction or may make such conditions as to sanitary or other arrangements as may seem to them fit. Any person erecting such house or building without such sanction will be liable to a penalty not exceeding *One Hundred Dollars* and the Council may request the Court of the nationality concerned to remove such house or building and may recover from him the expense thereof in the same manner as damagers.

14. Storage of explosives.

No dangerous goods such as gun-powder or other explosives, saltpeter, large quantities of spirits in bulk, naphtha and other explosive gases or liquids, may be landed on the Settlement under a penalty recoverable from the offender not exceeding *Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars* for the first offence, and not exceeding *Five Hundred Dollars*, with confiscation of the goods themselves, for each succeeding offence.

Kerosine.

In the case of Kerosine or other inflammable illuminating oil it shall only be stored in such special places and godowns as may be considered safe by the Council; and in no private house or shop within the Settlement shall more than 10 cases be allowed to be kept for sale or use under a penalty of *Ten Dollars* and the confiscation of any cases in excess of Ten, for each offence.

15. Licences.

No person shall open or keep a fair, market, house or place of public entertainment, music hall, theatre, circus, billiard, bowling or dancing saloon, brothel, gambling house, dairy, laundry, slaughter house, shop or store for the sale of wines, spirits, beer, intoxicating or other drugs, lottery tickets or chances in lotteries, butchers meat, poultry, or game, or sell or vend any wines, spirits, beer, intoxicating or other drugs, lottery tickets, or chance in lotteries, butchers meat, poultry, or game; or ply, let or use for hire any boat, horse, or vehicle without a licence first obtained from the Council, and in the case of Foreigners, countersigned by the Consul of the nationality to which such person belongs. In respect of such licences the Council may in its discretion impose such conditions and exact such security as the nature of the particular case may require or refuse to give such license, and such fees will be charged for such licenses as may be authorized at the Annual General Meeting of Ratepayers. And any person offending against or infringing the provisions of such Bye-Law shall be liable for every offence to a fine not exceeding *One Hundred Dollars* and a further fine for every 24 hours' continuance of such offending or infringing not exceeding *Twenty Five Dollars*.

16. Disturbances in streets.

All persons firing guns or pistols on or near public roads (except on rifle ranges and such other places as may be approved by the Council) causelessly creating a noise or disturbance and all persons guilty of furious riding or driving or committing any act which may legitimately come within the meaning of the term nuisance, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding *Five Dollars*.

17. Carrying arms.

No person within the Settlement, except the Titai and Taotai of Amoy, Consular officers and the officers of the Mixed Court and Municipal Council duly authorized and military and naval officers, volunteers or soldiers of any Government force in uniform or on duty, shall under any pretence carry offensive or defensive arms such as guns, pistols, swords, daggers, loaded sticks, slung shots, knives or any weapon of like character under a penalty of not exceeding *Ten Dollars*, or seven days imprisonment with or without hard labour. Provide that nothing in this Bye-Law be construed to

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extend to the carrying of fowling pieces for the purpose of shooting game.

18. Bye-Laws do not preclude prosecution under common law.

Nothing in these Bye-Laws contained shall be construed to render lawful any act or omission on the part of any person which is or would be deemed a nuisance at Common Law, nor to screen such person from prosecution or action in respect thereof according to the form of proceeding at Common Law, nor from the consequences upon being convicted thereof.

19. Penalties to be summarily recovered.

Every penalty or forfeiture imposed on any foreigner by these Bye-Laws, the recovery of which is not otherwise provided for may be recovered by summary procedure before the proper Consular Representative, and it shall be lawful for such Consular Representative upon conviction to adjudge the offender to pay the penalty or forfeiture incurred as well as such costs attending the conviction as such Consular Representative shall think fit.

20. Publication of Bye-Laws.

These Bye-Laws shall be printed and the Secretary of the Council shall deliver a printed copy thereof to any Ratepayer applying for the same without charge.

Signed AT H. I. J. M. Consulate, Amoy, the 10th of January 1902.

(Sd.) Tao-Tai,

YEN NIEN

(,,) Marine Subprefect,

CHANG WEN CHIH.

(,,) Lekin Deputy,

CHENG HSU

(,,) Foreign Affairs Deputy,

YANG JUNG CHUNG.

(,,) S. UYENO,

(7)

Senior Consul and Consul for Japan.

(,,) R. W. MANSFIELD,

H. B. M. Consul.

(,,) JOHN H. FESLER,

U. S. Consul.

(,,) B. KRAUSE,

H. G. M. Acting Consul.

(,,) A. BERNARD,

Agent Consulaire de France.

(,,) M. WOODLEY,

Acting Consul for Spain.

Acting Consul for Denmark.

(,,) AUGUST PIEHL,

Consul for the Netherlands and

Vice-Consul for Sweden & Norway.

Appendix 4: Amendments and Additions to the Land Regulations for the Settlement of Kulangsu

(1)

The following amendments and additions to the Land Regulations for the international Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy, have been agreed upon and settled by the Foreign Consuls and local Chinese Authorities, subject to confirmation by the Foreign Representatives and Supreme Chinese Government at Peking:-

Article 2 is amended to read:

It being necessary and expedient that provision be made for the appointment of a Municipal Council for the management of municipal matters, the Senior Consul for the time being shall, in the month of February or March in each year, call a general meeting of ratepayers – to attend which the Chinese authorities shall depute one Chinese gentleman of good standing, a citizen of China, holder of land on Kulangsu and resident of the Settlement, who shall afterwards be *ex officio* a member of the Council – for the passing of accounts for the previous year, for the election of a Council and to make provision for the payment of municipal expenses during the current year, and for the transaction of such other business as may lawfully pertain to the Municipality, provided, however, that no matters shall be dealt with at the said meeting except those above specified unless due notice thereof shall have been given by the Council in their annual report or by public notice at least 3 days before the meeting, and provided further that any elector desiring to bring before the meeting any matter not provided for as above shall give at least 5 days notice thereof to the Council, which shall publish such notice at least 3 days before the meeting.

Ten days notice shall be given of such meeting, and at the meeting the chair shall be taken by the senior Consul present, or, in the absence of a Consul, by such elector as a majority of the voters present may nominate.

It shall be competent at such meeting duly assembled for a majority of the qualified voters present, including proxies for absent owners of land or houses who are qualified voters, to authorize the imposition and levying of rates and the issuance of licenses for the purposes mentioned in the Bye-Laws, and to authorize an assessment in the form of a rate on lands and/or houses and other buildings, and it shall also be competent for the said meeting or a majority thereof as aforesaid to impose other rates and taxes in the form of dues on all goods landed and/or stored within the Settlement limits, provided, the said rates and taxes levied in the form of dues shall in no case exceed the amount of 1/4 per centum on the value of goods so landed and/or stored. It shall also be competent for the said meeting or a majority thereof to authorize the imposition of taxes in such other forms as may appear requisite and necessary.

Article 3 is amended to read:

The Senior Consul for the time being may of his own motion or at the written request of any one or more of the Consuls, of the Council, or of any 10 voters call a special meeting of ratepayers for the transaction of any business of the Municipality not provided for at the Annual General Meeting.

In all such cases he shall give 10 days public notice and set forth the business for which the meeting is called. The Chair shall be taken at the meeting in the same manner as provided at the Annual General Meeting.

All resolutions bearing on the special object of the meeting and passed by a majority of two-thirds of the qualified voters present at such meeting shall be valid and binding on the whole of the residents within the limits of the Settlement, if not less than one-third of the electors are present or are represented, provided always that all resolutions passed at any meeting whether general or special shall be submitted to the Consular Body for their approval, and without the approval of a majority of the Consular Body, officially given, no resolution shall be operative, but a term of ten days shall elapse between the date of the resolution and the signification of approval by the Consuls, during which time any person considering himself prejudiced in property or interests by the resolution may present his case to the Consular Body for their consideration.

Article 4 is amended to read:

The Municipal Council shall consist of 5 or 6 persons, who shall be elected by ballot of qualified voters at the Annual General Meeting, and of the Chinese gentleman appointed by the Chinese authorities, and shall hold office until the next annual election of the Municipal Council.

The following persons are qualified to vote at all public meetings of ratepayers:-

- (i) Foreign owners of land on Kuala Lumpur registered at a Consulate, paying rates on an assessed value of not less than \$4,000, and the authorized representatives or proxies of such land owners who are absent from the meeting.
- (ii) Foreign taxpayers of \$20 and upwards per annum, exclusive of license fees, and foreign householders, i.e., occupants of residential properties, paying taxes on an actual rental or assessed rental value of not less than \$400, whether such rental or taxes be paid or provided by the firm, society, company or organization to which they belong or by themselves personally: Provided, that such persons shall not be in arrears of payment of taxes at the date of the meeting, and that not more than one

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vote as a taxpayer or householder shall be held for each separate assessed property.

No taxpayer shall in any case be entitled to more than one vote: Provided, however, that this inhibition shall not apply to any foreign taxpayer or householder acting as the authorized representative or proxy of a land owner, as previously defined, who is absent from the meeting and is entitled to a vote thereat.

The following persons are qualified for election as Councillors:—

- (a) Foreign owners of real estate on Kulangsu of an assessed value of not less than \$5,000, or their representatives.
- (b) Foreign residents of Kulangsu paying on an assessed annual rental of \$400 and over, whether such rental or rates be paid by the firm, society or company to which they belong or by themselves personally, provided always that only one member of such firm, society or company, or one occupant of any house be eligible to sit on the same Council.

In case of vacancy or vacancies occurring during their tenure of office, the existing Council shall have power to fill up such vacancy or vacancies by the vote of the majority of the Council. If the Chinese membership becomes vacant, a new appointment shall be made by the Chinese authorities.

The Council shall enter upon their office as soon as they are elected. At their first meeting the new Council shall elect a Chairman and Vice Chairman. On all questions in which the members of the Council present at a Council Meeting are equally divided in opinion the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote. At such meeting 3 members shall constitute a quorum.

In this article the term “foreign” is to be interpreted as meaning persons not of Chinese race, and does not include persons of that race who may by birth or naturalization abroad have become the subjects of foreign countries.

The last 5 lines of Articles 5 are amended to read as follows:—

“operation until agreed upon by the ratepayers in public meeting assembled, and by the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Amoy and the Treaty Consuls, and approved by the Chinese Government and the Foreign Ministers at Peking.”

(4)

The last sentence in Article 6 is amended to read:

“Provided always that no officers shall be appointed for a longer period than 3 years unless such appointment and the salary attached shall receive the approval of the qualified voters duly convened.”

Article 7 is amended by adding at the end of the following sentences:—

In the case of foreigners without consular representation at Amoy, the Court of Consul shall have authority, in respect of land or building assessments, to distrain on the land or buildings to such extent as may be required to satisfy such assessment, rates or dues, and, in respect of rates, dues or taxes on goods, to detain and sell such portion of the goods, or use such other means as may be necessary to obtain payment of such rates, dues or taxes.

Article 8 is amended by the substitution of the following for the last provision in this article:—

“Provided always that the members, officers or servants of the Council shall not be personally responsible for any act done by the authority of the Council, but only the property of the Council.”

Article 10 is amended by inserting the word “public” before the words “jetties” and “cemeteries”.

Article 11 is amended to read:

The sovereignty of the soil vesting in the Government of China, the Government land tax and foreshore tax will continue to be collected by the Chinese authorities. Such taxes will however be handed over to the Council as a contribution to municipal expenses.

Article 12 is amended to read as follows:

The Chinese Government shall establish on Kulangsu a Mixed Court on the lines of the Mixed Court at Shanghai and shall appoint an experienced officer to preside thereat with a sufficient staff. Such officer shall receive special authority from the Chinese Government to deal with all police and criminal cases occurring within the Settlement and in which Chinese are the defendants. In all police and criminal cases a foreign

(5)

Consul or an officer deputed by him shall sit as Assessor with the Mixed Court Magistrate.

In case of a serious crime being committed by a Chinese the accused shall, after preliminary examination at the Mixed Court, be handed over with a report on the case to the territorial officials to take his trial.

The Mixed Court will also be empowered to deal with all civil cases in which any Chinese resident in the Settlement is defendant and any judgment given in such cases shall be executed if necessary by the territorial officials on the mainland and in Amoy.

In any case whether civil or criminal in which a foreigner is concerned, the Consul of his nationality or an officer deputed by him shall sit as an Assessor with the Mixed Court Magistrate. Should the Assessor dissent from the finding of the Mixed Court Magistrate the case may be appealed to a Higher Court consisting of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Amoy with the Consul of the foreigner's nationality as Assessor.

Cases in which the Municipality is concerned shall be heard before the Mixed Court Magistrate and a foreign Assessor and may be appealed, in case of dissent, to a Higher Court consisting of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Amoy and the Senior Consul.

All warrants and summonses issued by the Mixed Court must, if the person to be arrested or summoned be residing on foreign premises, be first taken to the Consul concerned for counter-signature. If such person be in foreign employ but is not residing on foreign premises the warrant need not be first countersigned by the Consul but it must be sent to him on the day it is issued and the Consul may, for reason given in writing, cancel the warrant. In other cases the warrant need not be countersigned by a Consul.

The regulations and rules of procedure for the Mixed Court of Shanghai shall wherever applicable be applied in the Mixed Court of Kulangsu.

Article 14 is amended to read:

In the case of any offence being committed in Amoy or on the mainland, if the accused take refuge in the Settlement, the proper Chinese authority will issue a warrant and send it to the Senior Consul for countersignature, and if the accused be on foreign premises, the countersignature of the Consul specially concerned will also be required. The Municipal Police will then effect the arrest and the accused will be brought before the Mixed Court for preliminary hearing before the Magistrate and a Foreign Assessor, who will, upon a proper showing, order the accused to be handed over to the territorial authorities. In urgent cases the accused may be first arrested by the Municipal Police and the Consul notified afterwards in the same manner as is laid down in Clause 12.

(6)

Article 15 is amended by inserting, after the end of the first sentence, the following:—

“Foreigners without consular representation at Amoy shall, so far as concerns breaches of these Regulations and the Bye-Laws, be dealt with before the Court of Consuls in the same manner as provided in Article 7.”

The following additional article is adopted and shall be known as Article 9a:-

Conveyances or leases of land to persons of foreign nationality shall, within one month from the time of the completion of the sale and official sealing of the deed, be registered in the office of the consular representative of the purchaser; and all charges by way of mortgage, whether of a legal or equitable character, shall also be registered in like manner, and within one month of their execution. All transfers of land shall be made at the Consulate where the deeds are registered, and also be registered at that of the vendee or assignee.

When land has been purchased by persons of foreign nationality, proper boundary stones must be placed to define the boundaries thereof, under supervision authorized by the Consul concerned.

The following additional article is adopted and shall be known as Article 5a:—

The Council may from time to time make Rules with respect to the structure of walls, foundations, roofs and chimneys of new building for securing stability and prevention of fires, and for purposes of health, with respect to the sufficiency of the space about buildings to secure a free circulation of air, and with respect to the ventilation of buildings, with respect to the drainage of buildings, to waterclosets, privies, ashpits and cesspools in connection with buildings, and to the temporary or permanent closing of buildings or parts of buildings unfit for human habitation, and to prohibition of their use for habitation. And they may further provide for the observance of such Rules by enacting therein provisions as to notices, as to the deposit of plans and sections by persons intending to construct buildings, and as to inspection by the Council; and the Council may remove, alter or pull down any work begun or done in contravention of such Rules or of any Bye-Law of the Council: Provided always that no such Rules shall come into operation until they have been submitted to the Consular Body for approval and until six months after publication.

The following additional article is adopted and shall be known as Article 4a:—

A list of qualified voters shall be published by the Council at least 7 days before the annual or any special meeting of ratepayers. Corrections and additions to the list may be

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made by the Council up to forty-eight hours of the time of holding the meeting. Disputes as to the right to vote shall be referred promptly for the decision of the Consular Body, which shall be final.

Statement of Foreign Landholdings, Rates and Taxes for Kulangsu

Compiled May 7, 1919

Nationalities	Assessed Property Values	Rates at 1/2%	Rental Values (Assessed)	Rates on Assessed Rental Values (5%)	Rentals	Taxes on Rentals 5%	Numbers of Votes		Total Votes	Total of Taxes Paid
							Land Owner	Renter		
British	\$ 451,300	\$ c. 2,256.50	\$ 22,857	\$ c. 1,142.85	\$ 10,236	\$ c. 511.80	17	8	25	\$ c. 3,911.15
American	162,250	811.25	10,700	535.00	9,960	498.00	9	8	17	1,844.25
Japanese	43,000	215.00	2,664	133.20	8,910	445.50	1	13	14	793.70
Danish	37,000	185.00	2,400	120.00	—	—	2	0	2	305.00
French	24,000	120.00	1,500	75.00	—	—	1	0	1	195.00
Spanish	14,500	72.50	960	48.00	—	—	1	0	1	120.50
Italian	7,000	35.00	—	—	900	45.00	0	1	1	80.00
Belgian	—	—	—	—	900	45.00	0	1	1	45.00
Norwegian	—	—	—	—	720	36.00	0	1	1	36.00
Chinese	115,500	577.50	5,700	285.00	3,960	198.00	1	0	1	1,060.50
Maritime Customs	—	—	—	—	300	15.00	0	0	0	15.00
Chinese Postal Service	—	—	—	—	975	48.75	0	1	1	48.75
Chinese Salt Service	—	—	—	—	480	24.00	0	1	1	68.00
Masonic Hall*	8,800	44.00	—	—	—	—	1	0	1	160.00
Amoy Club*	20,000	100.00	1,200	60.00	—	—	1	0	1	484.50
German property†	67,500	337.50	2,940	147.00	—	—	0	0	0	9,118.60
Total \$	950,850	4,754.25	50,921.00	2,546.05	36,366	1,818.30	33	33	66	

* International

† Now under control of Chinese Government by virtue of sequestration regulations.

Chinese Owned Property*	Assessed Value.	Taxes 1% when Chinese Occupied.	Taxes 1/2% when Foreign Occupied [†]	Total Taxes	Total Property and Rental Taxes.
	\$	\$ c.	\$ c.	\$ c.	
Chinese Occupied	1,811,898.00	18,118.98	—	18,118.98	Paid by Foreigners \$ 9,118.60
Foreign ”	375,200.00	—	1,876.00	1,876.00	Paid by Chinese including Foreign-Chinese <u>19,994.98</u>
Total \$	2,187,098.00	18,118.98	1,876.00	\$19,994.98	TOTAL \$29,113.58

* Including Foreign-Chinese owned property

† A tax of 5% on rental is paid by foreign renters.

All values in Local Currency

(Source: Annexed to the correspondence between the British Consul in Xiamen B. G. Tours and the British Minister at Peking John Jordan, dated with 31st July 1919, PRO, FO228:3470)

Appendix 5: [Amended] Draft Bye-Laws

(1)

1. Control and management of sewers and drains.

The entire control and management of all public sewers and drains within the limits of the Settlement, and all sewers and drains in and under the streets, with all the works and materials thereunto belonging, whether made at the time these regulations become valid or at any time thereafter, and whether made at the cost of the Council or otherwise, shall vest in and belong to the Council.

2. Powers to make sewers and drains.

The Council shall from time to time cause to be made such main and other sewers as shall be necessary for the effectual draining of the Settlement, and also all such other works as shall be necessary for cleansing such sewers, and if needful they may carry such sewers through and across all and any of the streets, and if for completing any of the aforesaid works it be found necessary to carry them into or through any inclosed or other lands, the Council may, after reasonable notice carry the same into or through such lands accordingly, making compensation to the owners and occupiers thereof, to be determined by arbitration, or recoverable in the manner provided by these Regulations for any damage done.

3. Power to enlarge and alter sewers and drains.

The Council may from time to time as they see fit, enlarge, alter, arch over and otherwise improve all or any of the sewers vested in them, and if any of such sewers at any time appear to them to have become useless, the Council, if they think fit to do so, may demolish and discontinue such sewers, provided that it be so done as not to create a nuisance.

4. Penalty for making any drain flow into a public sewer.

Every person, not being employed for that purpose by the Council, who shall make any drain into any of the sewers or drains so vested in the Council, shall forfeit to the Council a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, and the Council may cause such branch drain to be remade, as they think fit, and all the expenses incurred thereby shall be paid by the person making such branch drain, and shall be recoverable by the Council as damages.

5. No person to build over any public sewer.

No sewer or drain shall be made, or any building be erected over any sewer belonging to the Council without the consent of the Council, first obtained in writing, and if after the passing of these Bye-laws any sewer or drain be made, or any building be erected contrary to the provisions herein contained, the Council may demolish the same, and the expenses incurred thereby shall be paid by the person erecting such building, and shall be recoverable as damages.

6. Expense of maintaining and cleansing sewers and drains.

The care of maintaining and cleansing all public sewers and drains shall be the responsibility of the Council, the expense thereof to be defrayed out of public funds.

7. Drainage.

No new building shall be erected nor shall any old building be rebuilt until arrangements shall have been made and approved, whereby the land forming or to form the site thereof shall be raised to such a height having regard to the centre of the nearest public road as the Municipal Council may reasonably require, and all alleyways leading to or adjoining such buildings shall be raised and drained by the person building to the satisfaction of the Municipal Council, and whoever shall commence to erect any new building or to rebuild any old building and who shall fail to comply with the provisions of this Bye-law shall be liable for every such offence to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars, and it shall be lawful for the Municipal Council to stop any such building or rebuilding until the provisions of this Bye-law have been complied with.

No new building shall be erected nor shall any old building be rebuilt without such drain or drains constructed of such dimensions and materials and at such level and with such fall as may appear to the Municipal Council to be necessary and sufficient for the proper and effectual drainage of such building and its appurtenances. The drain or drains so to be constructed shall lead to and communicate with a public sewer in such manner as the Municipal Council may direct, and whoever shall erect any new building or rebuild any old building or construct any drain contrary to this Bye-law shall be liable for every such offence to a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars, and if at any time the Municipal Council shall discover that any building whether built before or after the passing of this Bye-law is without such a drain or drains as is or are sufficient for the proper and effectual drainage of the same and its appurtenances, they may cause notice in writing to be given to the owners or occupiers of such building requiring him within such reasonable time as shall be specified therein to construct and lay down in connection with such building one or more drain or drains communicating with such sewer of such materials and dimensions at such level and with such falls as shall appear to be necessary and if such notice be not complied with, the Municipal

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Council may, if they think fit do the works mentioned or referred to therein and the expense incurred by them in so doing if not forthwith paid by the owner or occupier shall be defrayed by the Municipal Council and such expenses shall be recoverable from the owner of the building as damages, provided always that exception be made in the sites where drains are not necessarily required to lead into public sewers.

Fourteen clear days before it is intended to commence the erection of any new building or the rebuilding of any old building a block plan of the land showing the buildings to be erected thereon shall be submitted to the Municipal Council for their approval. On such plan there shall be clearly marked:-

- (a) The intended height of the land compared with the centre of the nearest public road.
- (b) The position and dimensions of all drains and sewers already constructed or intended to be constructed in connection with such buildings.
- (c) The position and dimensions of all intended fire-walls.
- (d) The height above the roadway and the width of all intended projections into or over any public road. Within fourteen days after the said plan shall have been submitted to the Municipal Council the latter shall signify to the person submitting such plan their approval or disapproval with reasons expressed generally for any disapproval of the same and no building operations shall be commenced until the Municipal Council have signified their approval of the said plan.

8. Buildings.

Where the Council incur expenses in or about the removal of any work executed contrary to any Rule, the Council may recover the amount of such expenses either from the person executing the works removed or from the person causing the work to be executed at their discretion, in the same manner as they may recover penalties under the existing Bye-laws.

For the purposes of LAND REGULATION 5a the re-erecting of any building pulled down below the first floor, or of any frame building of which only the framework is left down to the first floor, or the conversion into a dwelling-house of any building not originally constructed for human habitation, or the conversion into more than one dwelling-house of a building originally constructed as one dwelling-house only, shall be considered the erection of a new building.

The Council may in making any rule under LAND REGULATION 5a prescribe the fine with which the contravention thereof shall be punishable, but so that such fine shall not exceed for any one offence the sum of twenty-five dollars or in the case of a

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continuing offence the sum of ten dollars for every day during which such offence is continued.

The Council may also fix the fees to be charged to the persons who submit plans and specifications under the provisions of the Rules. The Municipal Council before issuing a building permit may require official information from the authority whose subject the applicant is, as to his right to the ground or building in question.

9. Council to be surveyors of highways.

The Council, and none other, shall be surveyors of all highways within the aforesaid limits and within those limits shall have all such powers and authorities, and shall be subject to all such liabilities, as any surveyors of highways are usually invested with.

10. Quarrying Rocks, etc.

No person shall quarry, cut, engrave, or blast rocks or stones within the limits of the Settlement without a license from the Council, first obtained, under penalty of a fine not exceeding \$50 for each offence.

No person shall cut, carve, stamp or inscribe any commercial advertisement, or in any other manner deface any rock within the limits of the Settlement, under a penalty of a fine not exceeding \$50 for each offence, and the proper Court will order the defacement of such advertisement or other inscription at the expense of the person offending.

The Council is authorized to prohibit by public proclamation, the cutting, blasting or quarrying of historical rocks within the Settlement, provided that lists of such historical rocks shall first be submitted to and approved by the Consular Body and the local Chinese authorities, and provided further that where necessary the Council may proceed to the appropriation of such rocks, and of so much of the surrounding land as may be considered necessary or appropriate for the proper preservation and protection of such rocks and of the historical interest thereto attaching, in the same manner as is provided in Article 10 of the Land Regulations for the appropriation of land for public roads and works.

11. Management of streets and the repairs thereof to vest in Council)

The management of all the public streets, and the laying out and repairing thereof, and the pavements and other materials, as well in the foot-ways as carriageways of such public streets, and all buildings, materials, implements, and other things provided for the purposes of the said highways, shall belong to the Council.

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12. Council may stop up any street pending construction of a new sewer.

The Council may stop any street, and prevent all persons from passing along and using the same for a reasonable time, during the construction, alteration, repair or demolition of any sewer or drain in or under such street, so long as they do not interfere with the ingress or egress of persons on foot to or from their dwellings or tenements.

13. Penalty on making unauthorized alteration in streets.

Every person who willfully displaces, takes up, or makes any alteration in the pavement, flags, or other materials of any street under the management of the Council, without their consent in writing, or without other lawful authority, shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars, and also a further sum not exceeding one dollar for every square foot of the pavement, flags, or other materials of the street so displaced, taken up, or altered.

14. Water spouts to be affixed to houses or buildings.

The occupier of every house or building in, adjoining or near to any street, shall within fourteen days next after service of an order of the Council for that purpose, put up and keep in good condition a shoot or trough of the whole length of such house or building, and shall connect the same either with a similar shoot on the adjoining house, or with a pipe or trunk to be fixed to the front or side of such building from the roof to the ground to carry the water from the roof thereof in such manner that the water from such house or any portico or projection therefrom, shall not fall upon the persons passing along the street, or flow over the footpath, and in default of compliance with any such order within the period aforesaid, such occupier shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding ten dollars for every day that he shall so make default.

15. Cleansing streets.

The Council shall cause all the streets, together with the foot pavements, from time to time to be properly swept and cleansed, and all dust and filth of every sort found thereon to be collected and removed, and shall cause all the dust, ashes, and rubbish to be carried away from the houses and tenements of the inhabitants of the Settlement at convenient hours and times, and shall cause the privies within the Settlement to be from time to time emptied and cleansed in a sufficient and proper manner.

16. Ruinous Buildings.

If any structure, building or wall be deemed by the Council to be in a ruinous state, and dangerous to passengers or to the occupiers of the neighbourhood, the Council shall

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with all convenient speed cause all or so much of such building, wall or other thing, as shall be in a ruinous condition and dangerous as aforesaid, to be taken down, repaired, rebuilt, or otherwise secured, in such manner as shall be requisite, and all the expenses of putting up every such fence, and of taking down, repairing, rebuilding, or securing such building, wall, or other thing shall be paid by the owner or owners thereof.

17. Expenses of removal of ruinous buildings.

If such owner or owners can be found within the Settlement, and if on demand of the expenses aforesaid, he or they neglect or refuse to pay the same, then such expenses may be levied by distress.

18. When owners of ruinous buildings cannot be found.

If such owner or owners cannot be found within such limits, or sufficient distress of his or their goods and chattels within such limits cannot be made, the Council after giving twenty-eight days' notice of their intention to do so, by posting a printed or written notice in a conspicuous place on such building or on the land wheron such building stood, and by giving public notice in the local press or by other convenient means, may take such building or land, sell the same by public auction, and from and out of the proceeds of such sale may reimburse themselves for the outlay incurred or the Council may sell the materials thereof, or so much of the same as shall be pulled down and apply the proceeds of such sale in payment of the expenses incurred in respect of such house or building; and the Council shall restore any overplus arising from such sale to the owner of such house or building, on demand; nevertheless, the Council, although they sell such materials for the purpose aforesaid shall have the same remedies for compelling the payment of so much of the said expense as may remain due after the application of the proceeds of such sale as are hereinbefore given to them, for compelling the payment of the whole of the said expenses.

19. Projections of houses to be removed on notice.

The Council may give notice to the occupier of any house or building to remove or alter any porch, veranda, shed, projecting window, step, cellar, cellar door, or window, sign, sign-post, sign-iron, show-board, window-shutter, wall, gate, or fence, or any other obstruction or projection erected or placed against or in front of any house or building within such limits, and which is an obstruction to the safe and convenient passage along any street, and such occupier shall, within fourteen days after the service of such notice upon him, remove such obstruction or alter the same in such manner as shall have been directed by the Council, and in default thereof shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding twenty dollars, and the Council in such cases may remove such obstruction or projection and the expense of such removal shall be paid by the occupier so making default, and shall be recoverable as damages: Provided always, that in the case in which such obstructions or projections were made or put up by the owner,

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the occupier shall be entitled to deduct the expense of removing same from the rent payable by him to the owner of the house or building.

20. Obstruction of streets.

Every person who shall obstruct the public roads or foot-paths, with any kinds of goods or materials, shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding ten dollars for every twenty-four hours and after the first twenty-four hours of continued obstruction notice shall be given by the Council to the owner of the same, or the person using, employing or having control over the same, or in the absence of any such person, or inability on the part of the Council to discover such owners or persons, then it shall be lawful for the Council to remove and retain the same until the expense of such removal shall have been repaid, and the Council may recover the expense of such removal as damages, and the Council may after the lapse of a reasonable time sell the same, hold the balance (if any), after payment of penalties, expenses, and costs, to the use of the person entitled to the same. And it shall be competent to the Council to charge for hoardings or scaffoldings which it may be found necessary for the safety of the public to place round buildings in course of erection, interfering with the public highway, should the owners or others refuse or neglect to provide the same.

21. Cleansing of foot pavements and gutters.

All occupiers of land and houses shall cause the foot pavements in front of their houses to be swept and cleaned whenever occasion shall require, after the receipt of notice served upon them, and they shall also cause to be swept and cleansed all gutters, surface drains, in the front, side or rear of their premises, and remove all accumulations of soil, ashes, or rubbish, and every such occupier making default herein shall for every offence be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding five dollars, and for the purpose aforesaid when any house shall be let in apartments the person letting the same shall be deemed the occupier.

22. Conveyance of offensive matter.

The Council may from time to time, fix the hours within which only it shall be lawful to empty privies or remove offensive matter, and when the Council have fixed such hours, and given public notice thereof, every person who empties or begins to empty any privy, or removes along any thoroughfare any offensive matter, at any time except within the hours so fixed, and also every person who at any time whether such hours have been fixed by the Council or not, use for any such purpose any utensil or pail or any cart or carriage not having a covering proper for preventing the escape of the contents of such cart, or of the stench thereof, or who willfully slops or spills any such offensive matter in the removal thereof, or who does not carefully sweep and clean every place in which any such offensive matter has been placed, or unavoidably slopped or spilled, shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding ten dollars, and in

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default of the apprehension of the actual offender the person having the care of the cart or utensil employed for any such purpose shall be deemed to be the offender.

Any person who empties nightsoil or any refuse into a public drain shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ten dollars.

23. Stagnant pools)

No person shall suffer any offensive, waste or stagnant water to remain in any cellar or other place within any house belonging to or occupied by him or within or upon any waste land belonging to or in his occupation within such limits, so as to be a nuisance, and every person who shall suffer any such water to remain for forty-eight hours after receiving notice of not less than forty-eight hours from the Council to remove the same, and every person who allows the contents of any privy or cesspool to overflow or soak therefrom, to the annoyance of the occupiers of any adjoining property, or who keeps any pig or pigs within or near any dwelling-house, within such limits, so as to be a nuisance, shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding two dollars, for every day during which such nuisance continues, and the Council may drain and cleanse out any stagnant pools, ditches, or ponds of water, being a nuisance, and abate any such nuisance as aforesaid, and for that purpose may enter, by their officers and workmen, into an upon any building or land at all reasonable times, and do all necessary acts for any of the purposes aforesaid, and the expenses incurred thereby shall be paid by the person committing such offence, — or occupying the building or land whence such annoyance proceeds, and if there be no occupier, by the owner of such building or land, — and shall be recoverable as damages.

24. Accumulation of refuse.

If the dung or soil of any stable, cow-house, or pigsty, or other collection of refuse matter, elsewhere than in any farm-yard, be at any time allowed to accumulate within such limits for more than seven days, or for more than two days after a quantity exceeding one ton has been collected in any place not allowed by the Council, such dung, soil, or refuse, if not removed within twenty-four hours after notice from any officer of the Council for that purpose, shall become the property of the Council, and they, or any person with whom they have at the time any subsisting contract for the removal of refuse may sell or dispose of the same, and the money thence arising shall be applied towards the purposes of the Council, or they may recover the expense of such removal from the occupier of the building or land as damages.

25. Certificate of the officer of health.

If at any time the officer of health certifies to the Council that any accumulation of dung, soil, or filth, or other noxious or offensive matter ought to be removed, as being injurious to the health of the inhabitants, the Council shall forthwith give notice to the

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owner or reputed owner of such dung, soil, or filth, or to the occupier of the land where the same are, to remove the same within twenty-four hours after such notice, and in case of failure to comply with such notice such owner or occupier shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty dollars.

26. Houses to be whitewashed and purified.

If at any time the officer of health or other duly qualified person appointed by the Council certifies to the Council that any house or part of any house or building is in such a filthy or unwholesome condition that the health of the inmates or of the neighbours is thereby affected or endangered, or that the whitewashing, cleansing or purifying of any house or building, or any part thereof, would tend to prevent or check infectious or contagious disease therein, or that any drain, privy or cesspool is in such a defective state that the health of the neighbours is thereby affected or endangered the Council shall order the occupier of such house or part thereof, to white-wash, cleanse, and purify the same, and the owner of such drain, privy or cesspool to amend the condition thereof, in such manner and within such time as the Council deem reasonable, and if such occupier or owner do not comply with such order he shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding ten dollars for every day's neglect thereof, and in such case the Council may cause such house or part thereof to be white-washed, cleansed, and purified, or the condition of such drain, privy or cesspool to be amended, and may recover the expense thereof from such occupier or owner in the same manner as damages.

27. Obstruction of scavengers.

Every occupier of any building or land and every other person who refuses to permit the scavengers employed by the Council to remove such dirt, ashes, or rubbish as by these Bye-laws they are authorized to do, or who obstructs the said scavengers in the performance of their duty, shall, for every such offence be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars.

28. Conservancy of wells.

The water supply of Kulangsu being derived from wells it is essential that the water in all wells situated on or adjacent to any public road, field or garden be preserved from contamination. Hereafter no privies, latrines, cesspools, manure heaps, or deposits of filth or refuse must be made or deposited in such proximity to any such well as the Council shall consider as likely to contaminate the water. In such case the Council shall give notice to the person so offending to remove the annoyance forthwith, and if within 48 hours it has not been so removed, he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding five dollars and the Council may of its own motion and at the expense of the person so offending remove the annoyance, and may recover the expense thereof in the same manner as damages.

29. Reporting deaths.

All cases of death must be reported to the Council within 24 hours, and in the cases of cholera, small-pox or other infectious diseases the Council will take such steps as may appear necessary for the disinfection of the premises on which the death has occurred. Should the occupants of the premises not be in a position to pay the expenses of such disinfection, the Council may in its discretion pay out of Municipal Funds the whole or any part of such expenses.

Any head of a house or family failing to report a case of death as aforesaid, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty dollars in the first case occurring, thirty dollars in the second case, and fifty dollars in any subsequent case.

30. Dangerous Buildings.

No straw sheds, bamboo houses, or buildings of like inflammable materials, shall be erected, nor shall contraband goods or merchandise likely to endanger life or cause injury to individuals, such as gunpowder, saltpeter, sulphur, large quantity of spirits in bulk, petroleum, naphtha, and other explosive gases or liquids, stand on the premises of any individual under a penalty or fine, recoverable from the offender, not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars for the first offence, and not exceeding five hundred dollars, with confiscation of the goods themselves to the use of the Council, for each succeeding offence.

On articles of this nature being brought within such limits, immediate notice must be given by the importer, consignee or owner thereof, to the Secretary of the Council whose duty it will be assign the locality or place within which such goods must be safely stored, and every refusal to obey, or disobedience of the order of the Secretary in this behalf shall be visited upon the offender with a penalty or fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars and a penalty or fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for every twenty-four hours of continued disobedience, and such penalty, together with the preceding penalty, and all other fines and penalties declared by these Bye-Laws, shall be recoverable in a summary manner before the Consul or Court having jurisdiction over the offender or defaulter.

31. Licences.

No person shall (1) open or keep any fair, market house, place of public entertainment, native club, native hotel or lodging house, tea shop, eating house, music hall, theater, circus, billiard, bowling, or dancing saloon, pawn shop, dairy, laundry, slaughter house, or bakery; or any shop, store, stall or place for the manufacture or sale of firearms, wine, spirits, beer, beverages, intoxicating or other drugs, ice, lottery tickets, or chances in lotteries, clothing, butcher's meat, poultry, game, fish, fruit, vegetables or foodstuffs; or any livery stable, or pen for cattle, pigs, sheep or goats; or

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(2) sell or vend any firearms, wines, spirits, beer, beverages, intoxicating or other drugs, ice, lottery tickets, or changes in lotteries, butcher's meat, poultry, game, fish, fruit, vegetables, or foodstuffs; or (3) let, ply, or use for hire any boat, horse, pony, mule or donkey, or any vehicle; or (4) keep for private use any horse, pony, mule, donkey, or wheeled vehicle; or (5) keep any dog being six months old or upwards; or (6) conduct or be responsible for any public theatrical performance, or any parade or procession; or (7) hold any political meeting; or (8) affix, post, or attach to any private or public building or wall, or on any advertising hoardings, any commercial advertisements or posters; or (9) conduct and publish any vernacular newspaper or news sheet; without a license first obtained from the Council and, in the case of foreigners, countersigned by the Consul of the nationality to which such person belongs. In respect of such licences the Council may impose such conditions and exact such security as the nature of the particular case may require and charge such fees in respect thereof as may be authorized at an Annual General Meeting of Ratepayers. And any person offending against or infringing the provisions of this Bye-Law shall be liable for every offence to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars and a further fine for every twenty-four hours continuance of such offending or infringing not exceeding twenty-five dollars.

32. Factories.

No factory shall be established within the limits of the Settlement except under licence of the Municipal Council previously obtained, and the Council may, in respect of such licences, impose such conditions and exact such security as the nature of the particular case may require: Provided, however, that no factory shall be established which will prejudicially affect the comfort or health of the community or of any member thereof, or which shall in any way affect the community's water supply.

33. Rates, payment; when due.

All rates on property and rental covering the period January/June are due on or before the 30th April in the same year and those covering the period July/December are due on or before the 31st October in the same year. An additional 10% on amount of tax due and unpaid will be levied for each month or fraction thereof after the due date of payment, which amount shall be recoverable by proceeding in the proper Court.

34. Gambling Houses, Brothels, etc.

No person shall open or keep any gambling house, brothel, house of prostitution, or other disorderly house within the limits of the Settlement. Any person offending against or infringing this Bye-law shall be liable to a fine of two hundred dollars and a further fine of five hundred dollars for continuance of such offending or infringing. Gambling in the streets or other public places is prohibited. Any person or persons infringing this Bye-law will be liable to a penalty of \$5 for each offence.

35. Straying of cattle, etc.

The straying of cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, goats and poultry on the public roads is forbidden under a penalty of confiscation of the animals or a fine not exceeding \$5 against the owners for each offence.

36. Opium shops, etc.

No person shall open or keep an opium smoking shop or house in the Settlement. Any house, building, boat or other place utilized by any person or persons for the purpose of smoking opium will be considered an opium smoking house in the sense of these Bye-laws. Any person infringing this Bye-law will be liable to a penalty of \$100 for a first offence and not exceeding \$500 for every subsequent offence.

37. Opium.

The sale of opium or preparations of which opium is the principal medicinal agent, in the Settlement, is prohibited, except for strictly medicinal purposes. Any person infringing this Bye-law will be liable to a penalty of \$100 for a first offence and not exceeding \$500 for every subsequent offence.

38. Disturbances in streets.

All persons firing firecrackers, guns or pistols, causelessly creating a noise or disturbance, and all persons guilty of furious or improper riding or driving, or the leading of horses up and down any thoroughfare for exercise, or who shall commit any act which may legitimately come within the meaning of the term nuisance, shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding ten dollars.

39. Carrying arms.

No person within the Settlement, except Consular Officers and Officers of the Council and duly authorized Military and Naval Officers, Volunteers or Soldiers of any Government Force in uniform or on duty, shall under any pretence carry offensive or defensive arms, such as guns, pistols, swords, daggers, loaded sticks, slung shots, knives, or any weapon of like character, under a penalty or fine not exceeding ten dollars or one week's imprisonment, with or without hard labour; Provided that nothing in this Bye-law be construed to extend to the carrying of fowling-pieces for the purpose of shooting game.

40. Therapeutical practice.

No person shall be allowed to practice medicine or surgery or to issue death certificates who does not possess a diploma or a certificate of qualification issued by a recognized authority. Such practitioners shall register themselves with the Municipal Council. Any person found transgressing this Bye-law shall be liable to prosecution before his national authorities.

41. Pharmaceutical practice.

No person shall be allowed to prescribe or dispense foreign medicines unless he obtains a license from the Municipal Council, application for which must be supported by a certificate a competency issued by a recognized authority or by a resident Foreign Practitioner, or under license issued by his national authorities, which licence shall be registered with the Municipal Council. Any person found transgressing this Bye-law shall be liable to prosecution before his national authorities.

42. Burials.

Burial of residents of Kulangsu shall be subject to licence by the Kulangsu Municipal Council and shall be confined to cemeteries already established and to such cemeteries or restricted areas as may hereafter be established or set aside by, or under licence of, the Kulangsu Municipal Council.

No corpse shall be brought within the limits of the Settlements of Kulangsu without the licence, previously obtained, of the Kulangsu Municipal Council, for burial in an established cemetery.

Offences against this Bye-law shall be punishable by a fine of twenty-five dollars, to be recovered through the proper Court which will, upon proper showing order the removal of the corpse.

43. Transient offenders.

It shall be lawful for any officer or agent of the Council, and all persons called by him to his assistance to seize and detain any person who shall have committed any offence against the provisions of these Bye-Laws, and whose name and residence shall be unknown to such officer or agent, and convey him, with all convenient dispatch, before his proper Consul or the Mixed Court without any warrant or other authority than these Bye-laws.

44. Bye-Laws.

Nothing in these Bye-Laws contained shall be construed to render lawful any act or omission on the part of any person which is or would be deemed to be a nuisance at common law, from prosecution or action in respect thereof according to the forms of proceeding at common law, nor from the consequences upon being convicted thereof.

45. Penalty for disobedience of orders of Consuls.

If any nuisance or the cause of any injurious effects forbidden by these Bye-Laws be not discontinued or remedied within such time as shall be ordered by the Consul or Court concerned, the person by, or on whose behalf such nuisance is committed, shall be liable to a penalty or fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars for every day during which such nuisance shall be continued or unremedied after the expiration of such time as aforesaid, except in cases where the penalty or fine is specifically provided for in these Bye-Laws.

46. Penalties to be summarily recovered.

Every penalty or forfeiture imposed by these Bye-Laws made in pursuance thereof, the recovery of which is not otherwise provided for, may be recovered by summary proceedings before the proper Consular representative or the Mixed Court, and it shall be lawful for such Consular representative or the Mixed Court, upon conviction, to adjudge the offender to pay the penalty or forfeiture incurred, as well as such costs attending the conviction, as such Consular representative or Mixed Court shall think fit.

47. Sanitary and Traffic Regulations.

Subject to the approval of the Consular Body in each case, the Municipal Council is authorized to establish, promulgate, and from time to time, as may be necessary, revise and amend, such sanitary, police and traffic regulations as may be necessary to carry out any of the objects specified in the Bye-laws and Land Regulations.

48. Publication of Bye-Laws.

These Bye-Laws shall be printed, and the Secretary of the Council shall deliver a printed copy there to every ratepayer applying for same, without charge, and a copy thereof shall be hung up in the front, or in some conspicuous part of the Municipal Office of the Council.

Appendix 6: Comparative Table 1903~1938

	Revenue	Expenditure	Income from Assessment	Income from Building Permits	Fines
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1903	15,416.50	13,930.31	9,595.36		120.30
1904	21,917.19	22,308.32	15,036.37	248.70	430.09
1905	23,229.79	21,349.63	15,343.08	230.85	900.60
1906	23,028.83	22,733.72	15,599.98	352.65	233.67
1907	24,858.80	20,468.23	16,704.06	334.35	291.67
1908	26,036.20	27,571.78	17,197.25	590.95	441.89
1909	26,044.63	26,309.20	17,766.60	340.54	379.60
1910	26,539.68	27,208.52	18,016.92	836.60	301.87
1911	27,264.89	30,214.44	18,584.86	603.90	498.57
1912					
1913	30,592.93	22,304.07	22,227.58	459.43	449.10
1914	34,697.70	27,753.20	25,581.78	1,231.59	899.02
1915	32,257.25	29,286.24	20,856.63	1,250.03	1,473.20
1916	38,939.00	32,142.04	24,843.39	2,902.20	1,978.20
1917	39,246.86	41,328.80	27,519.47	1,240.46	1,659.54
1918	41,988.32	39,211.34	29,478.96	731.76	1,172.88
1919	43,107.17	44,789.84	30,402.43	1,416.32	450.50
1920	46,299.09	51,767.53	31,872.56	1,375.45	422.62
1921	51,197.36	43,765.28	33,435.11	2,754.23	1,529.02
1922	57,557.83	57,219.09	34,614.79	2,529.20	2,856.89
1923	78,117.31	73,910.38	49,695.51	4,433.50	4,327.45
1924	94,279.64	86,718.37	54,857.11	8,968.81	4,363.22
1925	100,609.59	98,350.86	62,201.54	4,368.50	3,937.78
1926	102,565.41	111,173.45	69,036.73	2,045.05	3,061.45
1927	97,857.13	91,824.80	71,069.32	1,956.00	1,247.42
1928	102,006.89	100,911.89	72,016.18	2,463.00	2,193.15
1929	105,512.55	105,131.38	73,771.38	1,539.50	4,224.00
1930	113,112.80	114,322.42	75,058.25	1,295.50	7,404.50
1931	111,594.78	107,832.14	76,207.69	2,409.00	5,883.00
1932	123,672.98	123,375.73	92,173.60	2,822.38	6,775.50
1933	145,706.99	156,108.89	100,731.86	2,720.45	9,088.59
1934	167,519.26	169,801.96	103,829.62	4,070.75	10,702.19
1935	151,624.16	161,400.49	101,612.02	2,240.85	4,131.80
1936	145,912.72	142,269.96	110,463.54	1,395.10	1,569.00
1937	144,298.84	145,213.43	111,700.15	478.00	1,327.00
1938	161,162.89	142,342.96	124,122.79	52.00	5,793.60

Note: Income from Assessment of 1938 included outstanding Assessments.

(Source: Kulangsu Municipal Council. Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1938, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1939. Amoy: Man Shing Printing Office, 1939.)

Appendix 7 Statement of Foreign Landholdings, Rates and Taxes for Kulangsu

Compiled March 15th 1923

Nationalities	Assessed Property Values	Rates at 1/2%	Rental Values Assessed at 10% of Property Values	Rates on Assessed Rental Values at 5%	Rental Values	Taxes on Rentals at 5%	Numbers of Votes			Total of Taxes Paid	Remarks.
							Land Owner	Renter	Total		
British	\$ 432,750	\$ c. 2,163.75	\$ 35,925	\$ c. 1,796.25	\$ 11,250	562.50	12	15	27	4,522.50	
American	231,875	1,159.37	22,212	1,110.63	4,350	217.50	9	7	16	2,487.50	
Japanese	93,750	468.75	9,375	468.75	14,250	712.50	4	15	19	1,650.00	
Danish	58,500	292.50	5,250	262.50	—	—	2	0	2	555.00	
French	30,000	150.00	3,000	150.00	—	—	1	0	1	300.00	
Spanish	26,250	131.25	2,625	131.25	—	—	1	0	1	262.50	
Belgian	—	—	—	—	1,875	93.75	0	1	1	93.75	
Norwegian	—	—	—	—	1,125	56.25	0	1	1	56.25	
German	33,750	168.75	3,375	168.75	300	15.00	2	0	2	352.50	
Chinese	236,250	1,181.25	23,625	1,181.25	4,950	247.50	2	0	2	2,610.00	
Maritime Customs											
Chinese Postal Service	6,750	33.75	675	33.75	1,050	52.50	1	0	1	120.00	
Chinese Salt Service	—	—	—	—	975	48.75	0	1	1	48.75	
Amoy Club*	30,000	150.00	3,000	150.00	—	—	1	0	1	300.00	
Masonic Hall*	12,000	60.00	1,200	60.00	—	—	0	1	1	120.00	
Total \$	1,191,875	5,959.37	110,262.00	5,513.13	40,125	2006.25	35	41	76	13,478.75	

(Source: Kulangsu Municipal Council. Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1923, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1924. Amoy: Man Shing Printing Office, 1924.)

Appendix 8 Statement of Chinese Owned Property, Taxes and Totals 1923

Chinese Owned Property*	Assessed Value.	Taxes 1% when Chinese Occupied.	Taxes 1/2% when Foreign Occupied [†]	Total Taxes	Total Property and Rental Taxes.
Chinese Occupied	\$ 3,383,360.00	\$ c. 33,833.60	\$ c. —	\$ c. 33,833.60	\$ c. 13,478.75
Foreign Occupied	3,532.50	—	1,766.25	1,766.25	Paid by Chinese including Foreign-Chinese
Total \$	3,736,610.00	33,833.60	1,766.25	\$35,599.85	<u>35,599.85</u> TOTAL \$49,078.60

* Including Foreign-Chinese owned property

† A tax of 5% on rental is paid by foreign renters.

N. B. All rentals are based on 10% of assessed valuation.

All values in Local Currency

Number of Chinese Taxpayers - 388

(Source: Kulangsu Municipal Council. Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1923, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1924. Amoy: Man Shing Printing Office, 1924.)

Appendix 9 Statement of Foreign and Foreign-Chinese Landholdings, Rates and Taxes 1933

Nationalities	Assessed Property Values	Rates at .625%	Rates at 1.25%	Rental Values at 10% of Property Values.	Rates on Rentals at 6.25% of Rental Values	Rental only.	Rates Rentals at 6.25%	Numbers of Votes			Total of Taxes Paid
								Owner	Renter	Total	
	\$ c.	\$ c.	\$ c.	\$ c.	\$ c.	\$ c.	\$ c.				\$ c.
British	522,825.00	3,267.66	—	48,020	3,000.63	6,787	424.18	11	16	27	6,692.47
British Chinese	191,515.00	198.43	1,997.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,195.49
American	346,900.00	2,168.13	—	34,690	2,168.12	1,500	93.75	6	8	14	4,430.00
American Chinese	58,125.00	—	726.56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	726.56
Japanese	190,500.00	1,190.63	—	19,350	1,209.38	18,900	1,181.25	4	15	19	3,581.26
Japanese Chinese	222,200.00	393.75	1,990.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,383.75
French	30,000.00	187.50	—	3,000	187.50	—	—	1	—	1	375.00
French Chinese	476,320.00	862.50	4,229.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,091.50
Spanish	29,625.00	185.16	—	2,963	185.16	—	—	1	—	1	370.82
Spanish Chinese	66,625.00	—	832.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	832.8
Danish	52,500.00	328.13	—	5,250	328.13	—	—	1	—	1	656.26
German	10,500.00	65.63	—	1,050	65.63	—	—	2	—	2	131.26
Dutch	—	—	—	—	—	3,450	215.63	—	3	3	215.63
Norwegian	—	—	—	—	—	750	46.88	—	1	1	46.88
Chinese Maritime Customs	303,750.00	1,898.44	—	30,375	1,898.44	4,500	281.25	1	1	2	4,078.13
Amoy Club	32,000.00	200.00	—	3,200	200.00	—	—	1	—	1	400
Masonic Hall	12,000.00	75.00	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	75
Recreation Club	800.00	5.00	—	80	5.00	—	—	—	—	—	10
Total	2,546,185.00	11,025.96	9,775.42	147,978	9,247.99	35,887	2,242.94	29	44	73	\$32,292.31

(Source: Kulangsu Municipal Council. Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1933, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1934. Amoy: Man Shing Printing Office, 1934.)

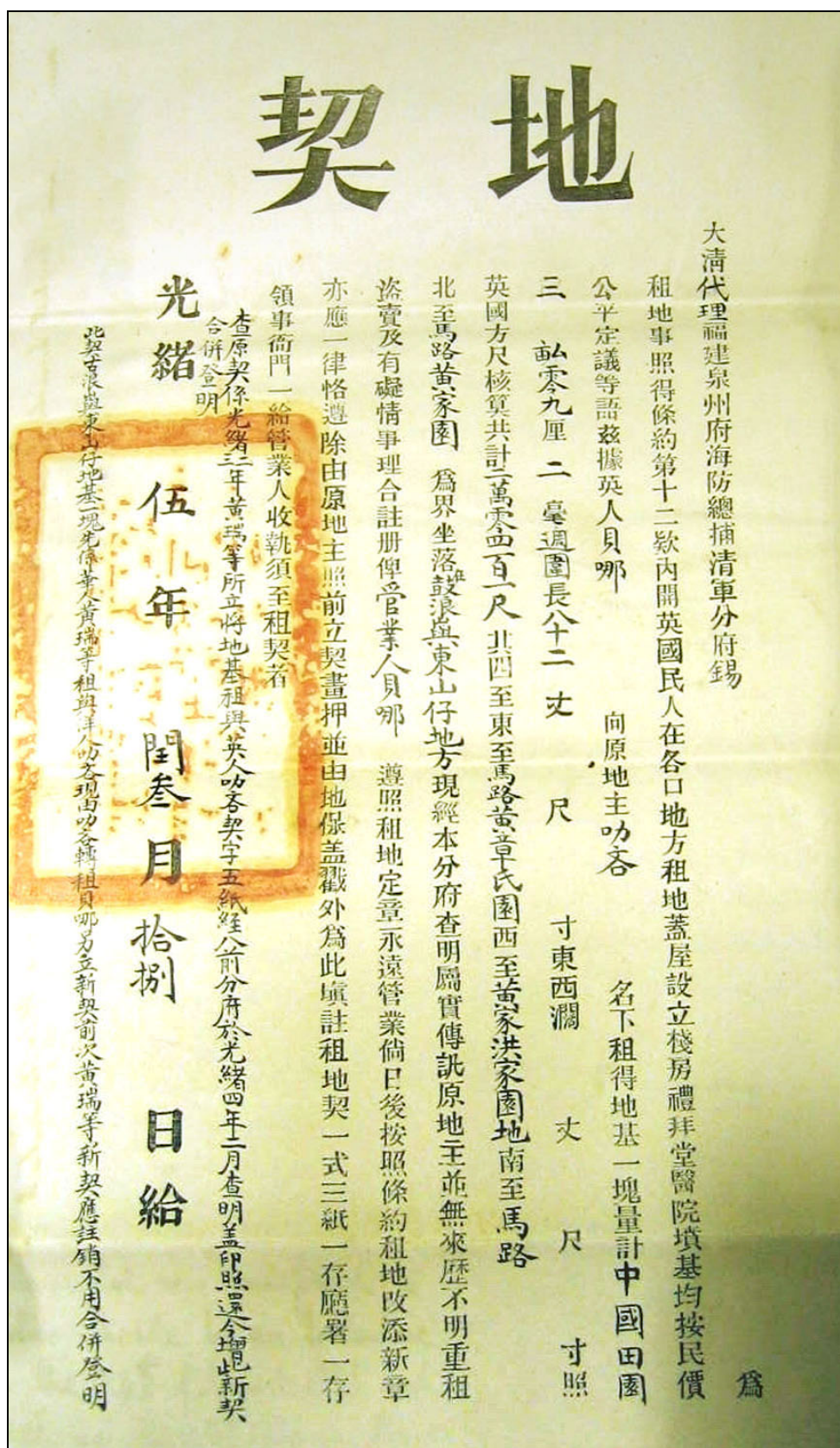
Appendix 10 Statement of Chinese Owned Property, Taxes and Totals 1933

October, 1933

CHINESE OWNED PROPERTY AND TAXES 1933					TOTAL TAXES
	Assessed Value. \$	Taxes 1.25% when Chinese Occupied. \$ c.	Taxes .625% when Foreign Occupied \$ c.	Total Taxes \$ c.	\$ c.
Chinese Occupied	5,987,687	74,846.09	—	74,846.09	Foreign and Foreign Chinese 32,292.31 Chinese <u>75,535.20</u> 107,827.51
Foreign Occupied	110,260	—	689.11	689.11	Less Tax Remission Schools and Public Institutions \$510,075 at 1.25% <u>6,375.93</u>
Totals	\$6,097,947	74,846.09	689.11	75,585.20	TOTAL \$101,451.58

(Source: Kulangsu Municipal Council. Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1933, Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue for the Year Ending 31st December 1934. Amoy: Man Shing Printing Office, 1934.)

Appendix 11: Title Deed of Lot No. 2




TITLE-DEED.

Whereas it is provided by Treaty that any British subjects shall be allowed to lease what land they may require for the building of houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial-grounds, paying a fair price therefor; and whereas it has been represented by the British merchant A. W. Bain that he has acquired from the proprietors a lot of land measuring Three mow no fen nine li two haou being _____ (Chinese) feet from N. to S. and _____ (Chinese) feet from E. to W. — English sq. feet 20,410

Bounded N. Road and Huang family garden
 „ S. Road
 „ E. Road and Mr. Huang's garden
 „ W. Huang and Hung family gardens
 Situated Tung-shan-tsun on Koolangsoo

I, Hsi Acting Maritime Sub-Prefect of Amoy, being satisfied on examination of the seller that the transaction is regular and that there is no objection to the transfer, have registered him as tenant in perpetuity of the said lot of land, subject to the provisions of the Land Regulations existing or hereafter to be drawn up in accordance with the Treaties; and in support of the original Bill of Sale, signed by the proprietor and sealed by the *Ti-pao*, I do now issue this Title-Deed for the said land in triplicate, whereof one copy is to be retained by the Consul, one by the *Sub-Prefect*, and the third held by the tenant.

Title Deed No. _____ AMOY, 8 May 1879.
 Lot No. 2 [L. S.]

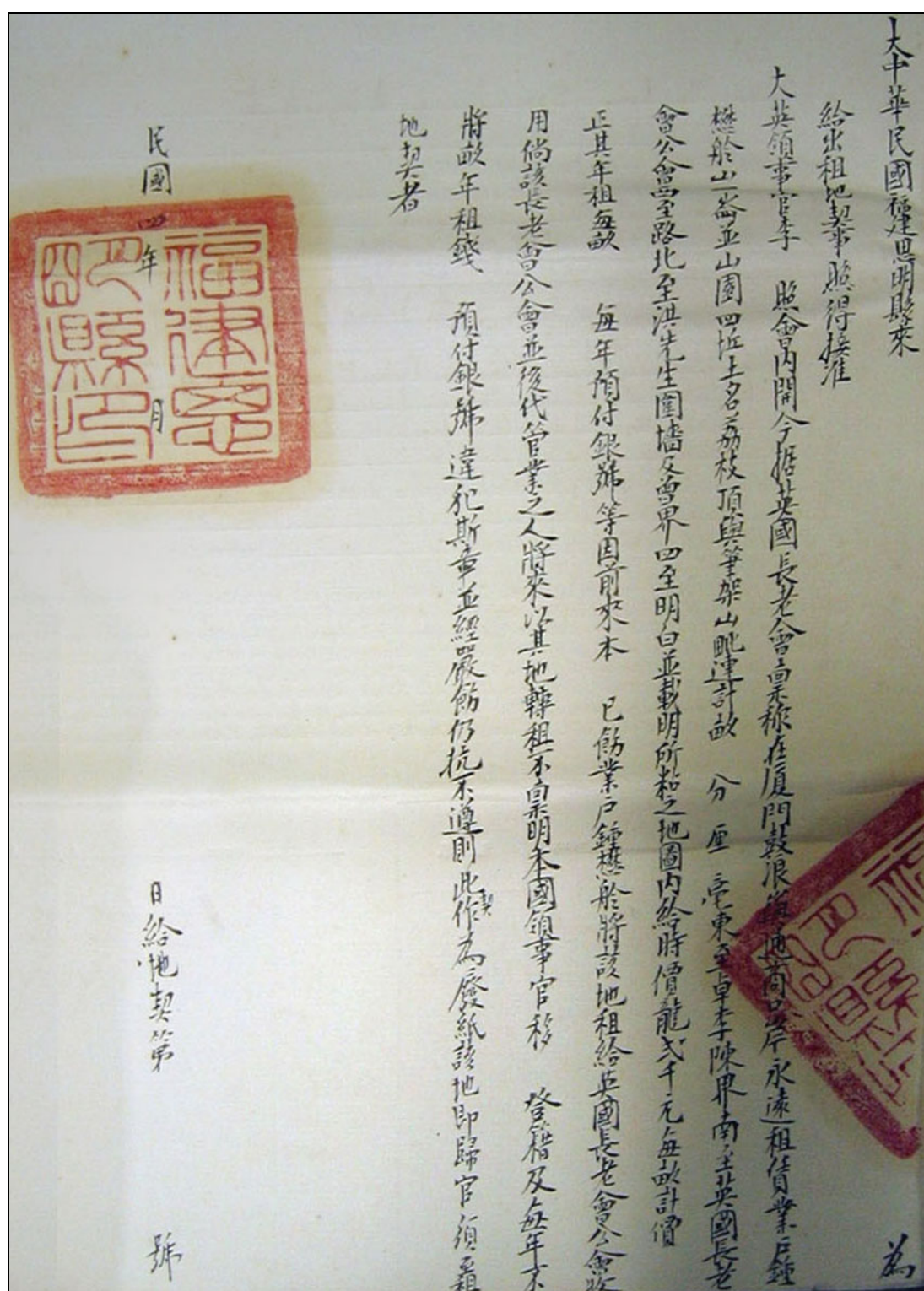
Registered  Consul.

The above Lot was transferred to Nicholas Moalle by an Indenture dated the 24th of August 1886 and registered as No. 75 of 1886 in the Register of Documents of this Consulate.
L. C. Hopkins
 Acting Consul
24 August 1886.

H. B. M.'s Consulate,
 AMOY, 6th May 1879

(Source: Amoy: Lot No. 2 Bain, A. W. 1879, PRO, FO678: 5.)

Appendix 12: Title Deed of Lot No. 133



Form C.

[TRANSLATION.]

Title Deed.

I, Lai Ma Lin, Son Ming Magistrate

hereby give this Deed for the Renting of Land.

I have received a communication from HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S Consul stating that
the English Presbyterian Mission
 [herein described and called the Renter] has applied to Rent in perpetuity from the Proprietor
Chung Mo Ling 莊 莊 莊
 a Lot of Land, situated at the Port of Amoy on the Island of Xubang, measuring in area
mow, sun, to, haou bounded
 North by English Presbyterian Mission Property and grave of Tsing family
 South by English Presbyterian Mission Property
 East by Graves of Cho, Li and Chin families and large rock
 West by Foot path on top of hill
 That the said Renter has paid to the said Proprietor a sum of Two thousand dollars
 for the land; and also that he will pay the land tax of _____ per mow Yearly in advance to the
 Chinese Government.

This coming before me the Intendant, I do hereby arrange and agree that the said Proprietor shall
 Rent the said quantity of Land to the said Renter upon the following conditions:—
 That if the said Renter, his or their Successors or Assigns, shall hereafter make over his or their
 interest in the Ground now rented to another party, without reporting the same to his or their Consul for his
 assent and concurrence, and through him to the Intendant for the time being, and for the due registration of the
 Transaction in their respective Records; or if the said Renter neglect to pay Yearly in advance the said
 land tax of _____ per mow, after being ordered to do so, then and in each of these several cases,
 this Deed shall become null and void, and the proprietorship of the said Land, Houses, and Tenements, shall
 revert to the Lord of the Soil.

A necessary Deed for the Renting of Land.

4th year, L. S. 31st moon 30th day.

March 30th 1915

LOT No. 133

REGISTRATION COMPLETED AT
 H.B.M. CONSULATE,
 this 4 day of December 1915

Stamp L1-10-0 (33A)
on owner copy.

H. L. L. L.
 Consul

H. L. L. L.
 Consul

(Source: Amoy: Lot No. 133 English Presbyterian Mission, 1915, PRO, FO678: 47.)

Appendix 13: Key Events in Xiamen from 1841 to 1938

August, 1841

Xiamen was attacked by the British.

1841~1845

The British troops occupied Gulangyu.

February, 1852

The British Concession in Xiamen was established.

March, 1897

The Japanese claimed two settlements in Xiamen.

August, 1899

The Incident of Hill of Tiger Head broke out.

August, 1900

The Incident of Dongbenyuan Temple broke out.

October, 1901

The idea of establishing an international settlement on Gulangyu was mooted.

January, 1902

The Land Regulation and Bye-laws of Gulangyu International Settlement were signed.

May, 1903

Gulangyu Municipal Council was set up.

November, 1911

After the Wuchang Rebellion, the United League (Tongmenghui) entered Xiamen and took over the authority.

January, 1912

Xiamen County Government was set up.

March, 1913

Xiamen *daotai* was renamed as Southern Route Surveillance Commissioner 南路观察使.

August, 1913

Electric light was used on Gulangyu.

February, 1914

Gulangyu residents carried out a strike to protest against an Indian police's arrest of a Chinese. Consequently, the Mixed Court was closed.

April, 1915

Anti-Japanese boycotts broke out in Xiamen to protest against the sign of the Twenty-one Demands.

April, 1918

Li Houji 李厚基, the then Fujian Army Commander 福建督军 controlled Xiamen.

August, 1918

Zang Zhiping 臧致平 took over Xiamen.

May, 1919

Xiamen students held protest meetings to support the May Fourth movement.

June, 1920

Xiamen Municipal Bureau was established.

May, 1921

Xiamen University was founded at Yanwuchang.

February, 1922

The Western gate of Xiamen city was demolished.

October, 1922

The Incident of Haihoutan was settled.

March, 1923

Zang Zhiping was nominated as Zhangxia Military Protector 漳厦护军使 by Li Yuanhong 黎元洪, the then president of the Republic of China.

August, 1923

Xiamen was attacked by Guangdong Army.

March, 1924

Zang Zhiping was fighting with Guangdong warlord 陈炯明.

April, 1924

Zang Zhiping was forced to leave Xiamen. The Fujian Navy controlled Xiamen and established Changchow-Amoy Naval Defence Commissioner's Headquarters 漳厦海军司令部. Lin Guogeng 林国庚 was appointed as the Commander.

May, 1924

Zhang Yi's troops 张毅 attacked Xiamen to force the Fujian Navy to give up their authority.

May, 1925

Gulangyu People's Association revised the Land Regulations, and the draft was presented for sanction.

June, 1925

Xiamen University's students protested against Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 Authorities for the May-30 Incident.

May, 1926

Gulangyu People's Association presented the revised Bye-laws for sanction.

December, 1926

The number of the Chinese councilors in Gulangyu Council Board was increased from one to three.

January, 1927

GMD's Northern Expedition took over Xiamen.

July, 1929

Modern roads were opened in Xiamen.

September, 1930

The Chinese Government took over the British Concession in Xiamen.

September, 1931

The Mukden Incident initiated Japan's occupation of Manchuria. Anti-Japanese activities broke out in Xiamen.

January, 1934

To suppress the Fujian Incident, GMD's troops arrived at Xiamen.

April, 1935

Xiamen was upgraded from county to city.

June, 1936

Ten Japanese Warships gathered at the Xiamen Harbour.

November, 1936

The Japanese Consul in Xiamen was upgraded to the Chief Consul.

August, 1937

The Japanese started to leave Xiamen.

September, 1937

The Japanese Navy attacked Xiamen.

January, 1938

Japan invaded China, and Xiamen was bombed by the Japanese planes.

May, 1938

Xiamen was occupied by the Japanese.

(Source: the key events from 1841 to 1852 were collected by the author; the key events from 1897 to 1911 were collected by Lin Song 林崧 and Yang Jibo, in *Xiamen dashi ji: Qingchao bufen (1897 – 1911)* 厦门大事记: 清朝部分(1897 – 1911 年) [The Key Events in Xiamen: Qing Dynasty (1897 – 1911)], XMWSZL, vol. 5 (1983), 118~129; the key events from 1912 to 1929 were collected by Lin Song and Yang Jibo, in *Xiamen dashi ji: Minguo bufen (1911 - 1929)* 厦门大事记: 民国部分(1911 – 1929 年) [The Key Events in Xiamen: Republic of China (1911 – 1929)], XMWSZL, vol. 6 (1984), 103~131; the key events from 1930 to 1938 were collected by Liu Jianxue 刘剑学 and Yang Jibo, in *Xiamen dashi ji: Minguo bufen (1930 – 1938, 5, 10)* 厦门大事记: 民国部分(1930 年 – 1938 年 5 月 10 日) [The Key Events in Xiamen: Republic of China (1930 – 10th, May, 1938)], XMWSZL, vol. 7 (1984), 126~143.)